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LOUISBOURG:

AN

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

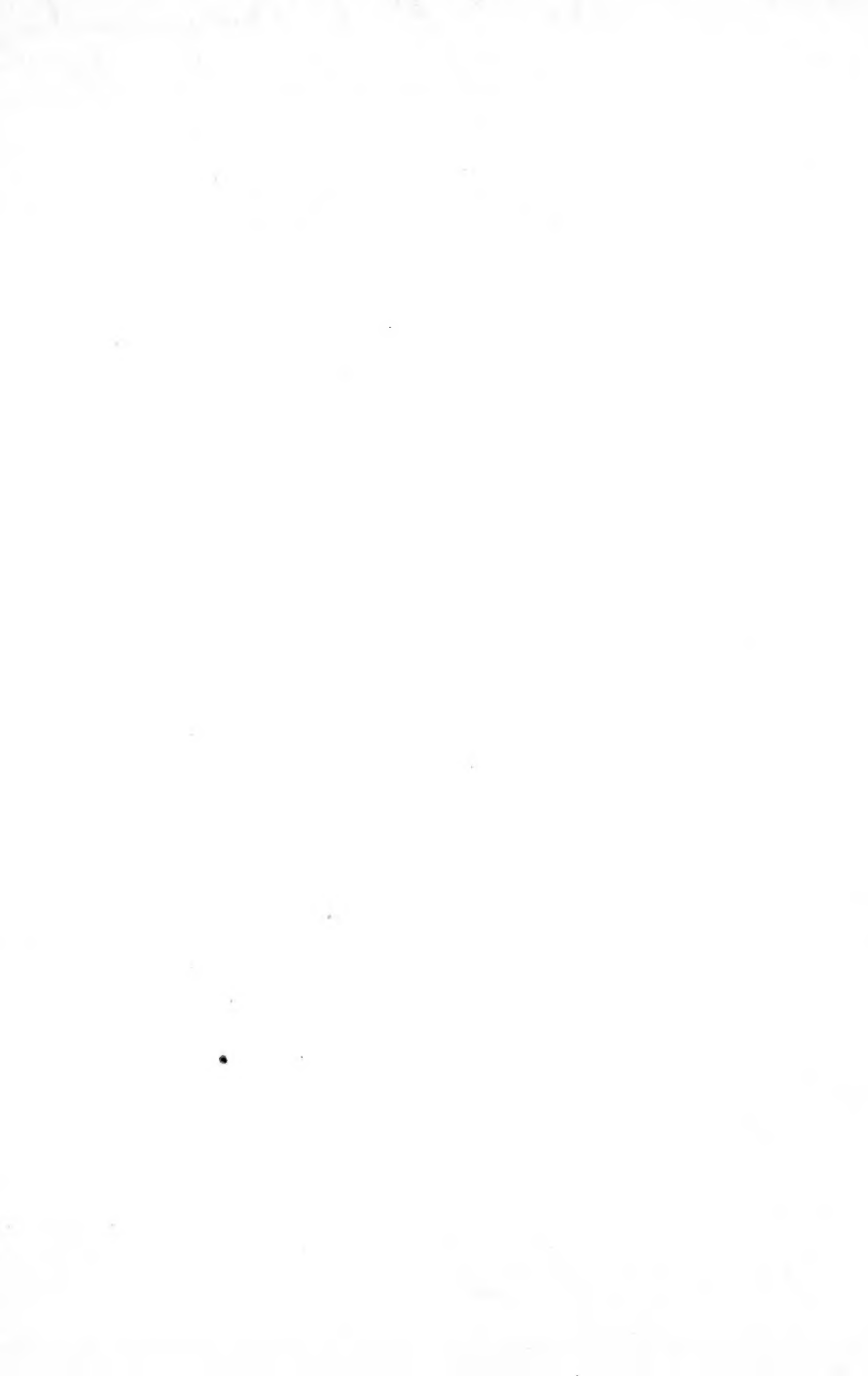
BY

JOSEPH PLIMSOLL EDWARDS.

Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society,
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AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

BY JOSEPH PLIMSOLL EDWARDS, LONDONDERRY, N. S.

Read before the Society, 27th November, 1894.

FEW more romantic and strange episodes exist in North American annals than the story of this fortress of Ile Royale. A colony and government removed to a lonely spot on the shore of a vast uninhabited island; a city, a naval depot, and a citadel of enormous strength springing up there under the flag of the most powerful military nation in Europe, and resulting in an armed metropolis which menaced all the Atlantic coast, became one of the trade-centres of the continent, and formed one of the great bulwarks of French power in America. Suddenly and almost ignominiously it changes masters; all its costly works, buildings, and armament become the property of Great Britain. In a year or two, with equal suddenness and greater ignominy, it reverts to France, and for a few years more holds a dominant position. Again it falls; and its captors expunge the entire establishment from the face of the earth; scarcely is one stone left above another. Its inhabitants drift elsewhere, and in a few years it is apparently forgotten as if it never had been. All this within half a century—a man's short life.

But it has left deep marks on the pages of the history of North America; and while in a sense less purely Canadian than continental, it has been left chiefly to Canadian writers to tell its story with amplitude of detail. The value of these histories is enhanced in that they give us the annals of all Cape Breton from its discovery down to recent dates; yet this very comprehensiveness leaves room for a sketch confined to the fortress which made the island famous. Such I have endeavored to portray in the following pages.

Prior to that treaty which may be termed the legal beginning of Anglo-Acadian history—signed at Utrecht in 1713, Louisbourg under that name did not exist. The bay or harbour was known to the French as Havre à l'Anglais—to the English as English Harbour. An early

traveller, Capt. Leigh, has left a very interesting account of his voyage along these shores in 1597, and refers to the bay as Port Ingleese or English Port. Of these early days there is little known in connection with the place. Pontgrave, the companion of DeMonts in his memorable voyage of 1604, landed there on his arrival on this side and built a boat : so far as we know this was the first vessel built by Europeans on what is now Nova Scotian soil. A quarter of a century elapses before we again hear of l'Havre à l'Anglais, and this time it is true to its name. British colours had temporarily supplanted those of France over all Acadie and Cape Breton, thanks to the enterprise of a certain Captain Argall. He, in the summer of 1613, set out from the newly settled village of Jamestown in Virginia, and, in the informal method of those days, attacked and beat off the few French then in this colony, and proclaimed the whole country as belonging to Britain. Eight years later a grant of all Acadie, Cape Breton, and part of Canada, was made by King James the first to Sir William Alexander, Secretary of State for Scotland. That astute nobleman divided his huge grant into lots and sold as many as possible to gentlemen anxious to go in for colonization work on a large scale. Among the purchasers was Lord Ochiltree, a Scottish nobleman, son of the Earl of Arran. With a following of 60 emigrants he sailed for Cape Breton in the spring of 1629, and settled his little colony within a few miles of English Harbour ; they erected a small fort and began to clear the land. But their residence there was a short one. A Captain Daniel, in the service of the King of France, had, or imagined he had, a grievance against my Lord Ochiltree for alleged interference with French fishermen ; and, without warning or explanation, landed a strong party on the 18th Sept. of that year, (1629,) took the little fort by assault, razed it to the ground, and deported the entire settlement, their arms, ammunition and stores—first to the harbour of Ste Anne, near by, then across the Atlantic—some to England, others to France. So bold a deed, in times of nominal peace between the two Crowns, created no little excitement, and voluminous charges and counter-statements were promptly forthcoming. But the Stuarts ruled England in those days, and French influence had great weight ; and it does not appear that any of the settlers so suddenly and unceremoniously thrust back on their native shores received redress.

By treaty signed on 29th March, 1632, Cape Breton was restored to France ; but for more than three-quarters of a century thereafter, English

Harbour remained undisturbed by the hum of commerce, and the deeper notes of war with which the adjacent coast resounded from time to time throughout this long period.

Port Royal, the capital of Acadie, surrendered to the British Crown—as represented by the Provincial General Nicholson, with four regiments of New England troops and as many ships of war—on the 4th of October, 1710. With its fall Acadie and Cape Breton became nominally British possessions. Port Royal became Annapolis, in honour of the reigning Sovereign ; and the name of Acadie was replaced by that of Nova Scotia. Two and a half years later the treaty of Utrecht was signed, which confirmed to Britain Nova Scotia and the French settlements in Newfoundland, but restored Cape Breton to France.

The establishment of a strongly fortified harbour to be a rendezvous and shelter for the French fleets on the North American station now became an imperative and immediate necessity. The treaty had cut off from France all the sea coast on the northern part of the continent except that afforded by Cape Breton, while inland the vast districts under her sway stretched along the St. Lawrence, embraced the great lakes, reached to the Rocky Mountains, and, sweeping south, covered the rich and fertile countries of the Ohio and Mississippi. Of all her Atlantic possessions Cape Breton alone remained, on guard over this enormous territory.

But it was as the sentry-box without the sentinel. No garrison of any strength existed on the island ; no fortified harbour offered shelter to friendly shipping. To these wants France gave immediate attention.

When the ratification of the treaty became a certainty—in fact when it was still only a probability—Louis XIV. and his ministers took the first steps towards strengthening this, his last remaining North Atlantic possession. We learn that in 1712 an Order-in-Council was passed ordering that a ship-of-war be sent to Plaisance—as Placentia, Newfoundland, was then called—thence, under directions from the Governor of that place, M. de Costabelle, to proceed to Cape Breton to choose the most suitable harbour and site for the new capital. It was not, however, until the following summer that these orders were carried into effect. The King's ship—named the *Segnelay*, and commanded by M. de Contreville—sailed for Plaisance in August, 1713. She had a double duty to perform—a mission of survey and of colonization, and carried among her company officials and settlers for the new colony ; chief among these being M. de Ste. Ovide de Broullan, a naval officer, and Major L'Hermite of the Engineers. In the name of the King

they formally took possession of the island ; and, as predetermined by the Home authorities, re-named it Ile Royale. In fact a general rechristening of all the chief harbours of the island very soon took place, preceding their actual settlement. The harbour of Ste. Anne became Port Dauphin ; St. Peter's became Port Toulouse ; and Havre à l'Anglais, Louisbourg. Of all these changes the latter alone survives ; but its single greatness outweighs the lapse of the other three. The brilliant period of active French rule in America, and the valour of the New England militia and of British linesmen and blue-jackets cannot be forgotten while the name of Louisbourg lives.

As to the most suitable harbour to fortify and build up into a naval capital there had been a marked difference of opinion, the Governor of Plaisance—backed up by no less a personage than the Viceroy of New France—favoring Ste. Anne's ; but the excellence of the harbour of Louisbourg, the depth of water at the entrance, and its comparative freedom from ice, carried the day, and that place was definitely chosen as the metropolis of the island province. To Louisbourg the immigrant-bearing ship of 1713 came, and on the shores of its harbour most of the new-comers settled.

On the 12th of June of the following year, M. de Costabelle formally delivered up Plaisance to Colonel Moody, the British representative, and, with his staff, moved over to Ile Royale, and fixed his head-quarters at the embryo capital. The land in the vicinity was poor, but the fishing was excellent, and a large additional number of colonists came over from Newfoundland and from France, and settled in close proximity to the harbour. Elaborate plans of the proposed fortifications were drawn up and submitted to the Home authorities, and all looked promising for the creation of a prosperous and progressive town, as well as a point from which the *fleur-de-lys* would extend its triumphs in the western world. But the ill-luck—to put it in the mildest form—which so closely waited on the enterprise was apparent even in this its first year of active life. Instead of the regular and systematic attention which the isolated settlement demanded from the Ministry, signs of neglect were already visible. The pay for the troops employed on the new defences was not forthcoming ; lack of discipline and a state not far from mutiny were the results. The supply of provisions for the settlers was painfully scanty, and misery and wretchedness naturally followed. To add to the troubles of the period, several vessels were, in November, 1714, lost in making the voyage from Plaisance to Ile Royale.

And to the praise of these people, then neglected and now utterly forgotten, it should be remembered that many of them had voluntarily left behind them in Plaisance their homes and holdings, and had followed the flag of France over into the wilderness of Ile Royale. Coercion may have been hinted at, and promises of work and fortune held out; doubtless such was the case; but the fact remained that they exchanged a certainty for an uncertainty, chiefly for their country's sake. Of all the former French inhabitants of Plaisance, only four or five remained and swore allegiance to the King of England. The rest, true to their colours, deserved better treatment than they received.

Over this infant settlement there was no lack of rulers and persons in high authority; in fact, as an over-governed colony, its record is perhaps unequalled. In addition to M. de Costabelle, the Governor-in-Chief, there was M. de Soubras, the Commissioner-Comptroller, of almost equal rank and power with de Costabelle. There was a King's Lieutenant, M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan; a commander of the troops, M. du Ligondez; a King's Engineer, Major L'Hermite, temporarily succeeded in 1715 by M. de Beaucour; and a writer to the King, M. de La Forest. There may have been others of equal note, but the foregoing all appear as having been in active correspondence with the authorities in France.

Of the life and doings at Louisbourg during these early years there is little which is worth recording. Building went on steadily, if not with remarkable speed. Supplies of various sorts were sent out from France, and from the French colonies, and all chief business matters were regulated from Versailles. Cut off, to a very great extent, from the French possessions in Canada, the Louisbourg government and people were to an unusual degree dependent on the mother country. Every petty detail of civic and colonial life was reported at length to Paris, and full instructions as to the necessary action were sent out by the Council of Marine. Immigrants from France came in but slowly, especially during the first few years; the sunny climate of New Orleans—at this period being laid out for settlement—proving a more tempting bait to warmth-loving Frenchmen than the cool summers and icy winters of Ile Royale. Strong efforts were made by the local authorities to induce the Acadians to leave the now English province of Nova Scotia and cast in their lot with their compatriots in the new island province; but the Acadians, not framed in the sternly-heroic mould, were loath to leave their fertile farms and marshlands. They noted the leniency with which their new masters

treated them as regards their allegiance, and showed their worldly wisdom in remaining as long as possible French subjects on British territory. A few went to Ile Royale, and more to the fertile lands of Ile St. Jean ; but the great majority remained at home, in the hope, we may suppose, of developments which would at one and the same time enable them to retain their nationality, appease their rulers, satisfy their consciences, and fill their pockets.

M. de Costabelle, the energetic and capable governor of Ile Royale, died in 1717. His last days appear to have been clouded over with a sense of wrong, or, at least, of lack of appreciation of his services, for his latest reports to the Ministry deal with the troubles of his *régime*, and of his personal expenditure in the interests of the government, and he prays "for justice." He died in France, having gone over in 1716. M. de Ste. Ovide de Brouillan, the King's Lieutenant, seems to have taken charge during the Governor's absence, and eventually succeeded him ; M. de Beaucour arriving at Louisbourg from France in November, 1718, to take de Brouillan's place as Lieutenant.

Work continued to be done on the fortifications and on the town, but evidently not with undue haste ; churches, hospitals, and other public buildings were slowly evolved from the chaos of stone and mortar which covered the area of the place. Contractors (civilian) controlled the erection of the fortifications. The garrison does not appear to have been large ; in 1720, for instance, it consisted of but seven companies of marine infantry—perhaps 500 men in all. A source of anxiety to the government was the illicit trade carried on with the New England colonies. Ordinances were levelled against it, but Yankee ingenuity often found means to evade these, and to continue a trade which, though risky, was undoubtedly profitable. I will again have occasion to speak of this when referring to the business of the port, in which New England's share was by no means a small one.

Intercourse with the neighbouring English colonies was singularly small. In connection with the all-important question of French backing and aid to Indians in their attacks on the English settlements and fishing boats, two men of note in Nova Scotia—Hibbert Newton, Collector of Customs at Annapolis and Canso, and Capt. John Bradstreet—were sent to Louisbourg in 1725, as a deputation to the French Governor. M. de Brouillan's reply to their requests was most polite, but evasive, and gave little satisfaction to the Annapolis authorities. Among the matters mentioned by the deputation in their report made

after their return, was that they had found fourteen English vessels actively engaged in trading between Louisbourg and New England and Nova Scotian ports.

The call was duly returned. One dull November morning, eight years later, there sailed into the port of New York a small vessel, hailing from Louisbourg, and having as passengers two officers of the French garrison there, Mm. de Gane and de Laronde. In the brilliant uniform of their rank, they must have made quite a sensation in the dull little town, as they strode up to the residence of Governor Cosby. Their mission was one of trade. The stock of provisions at Louisbourg was unusually low ; a long winter was coming on, and the prospect was not a cheerful one. So De Brouillan had despatched this embassy to purchase flour and pease ; and as they brought plenty of money with them, the legal impediments which stood in the way of their doing business (trade with Cape Breton being nominally forbidden) were set aside by a meeting of Council, specially called for the purpose, and they were permitted to buy as much as they pleased and could pay for. The episode was duly reported by the Governor to the Lords of Trade, and the benevolent and philanthropic aspect of the transaction was enlarged upon ; but His Excellency omitted to mention the fact that the visitors had brought for him, as a peace-offering from de Brouillan, four casks of Bourdeaux wine and two barrels of the best brandy. He, however, winds up his report with the following statement, significant in view of after events, " their (the French) present necessities furnishes me with " this observation, that a garrison at so great a distance from France, " from whence they are supplied with Beef and Pork, and the uncertain " crops of grain in Canada from whence they are to expect their bread " (for on Cape Breton they raise nothing from the earth) must make " that place in time of War very precarious, especially if our Men of " war, which must necessarily be on that coast to Guard our settlements " at Annapolis and Canso and our fishery, are active and constant in " their Cruises between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, for they can " hardly fail of intercepting all vessels that are sent from France with " supplies for them or with Merchandise to Canada."

It is evident that the idea of a capture of the French stronghold was even then vaguely present : in time it took root, and suddenly matured, and almost as suddenly developed into an accomplished fact.

Among the tragic incidents which are stamped on the story of life in North America during this period, one is closely associated with

Governor
1733

Louisbourg. This was the loss of the French man-of-war "Le Chameau" on the rocky coast near the harbour on the night of the 25th August, 1725. She was on her way to Quebec from France, and carried crew and passengers numbering probably between two and three hundred, including many distinguished officials and ecclesiastics. Every soul perished; 180 of the bodies were subsequently recovered and were buried at Louisbourg.

DeBrouillan, after long and faithful service in the Navy, as King's Lieutenant at Louisbourg, and as Governor of Ile Royale, retired in 1739, and was succeeded by M. de Forant, who accepted the position solely on compulsion, the King himself having intimated that such was his wish. He arrived at Louisbourg in September and was accompanied by a new Commissary-General—no less a personage than M. Bigot, whose fame as a master in the art of wholesale speculation still lives. The new Governor, evidently a hard working and conscientious officer, very soon after his arrival made a thorough examination into the state of the fortifications, garrison, and town; during the next three months his reports to the Minister on these and kindred subjects are voluminous. But his *regimé* was of short duration. He died at Louisbourg in May, 1740, eight months after his arrival; and M. Duquesnel reigned in his stead.

De Forant is worthy of special mention in that he bequeathed an endowment or foundation sufficient to defray the board and tuition of eight pupils, daughters of officers, at the chief convent of the town. This is probably the first act of the sort that took place in any part of the province—certainly the first of which I have been able to find any trace.

The new Governor, an appointee from France, reached Louisbourg early in November. He would seem to have been somewhat of a *bon vivant*, as his first letter to the Home authorities is an application for more money to defray debts contracted "in the discharge of the duties of his office." It is easy to infer what tradesmen constituted his chief creditors. We are not informed if this very frank request was granted, but presume that it was; if not, his colleague, M. Bigot, no doubt got him out of the scrape by methods peculiarly his own. Duquesnel ruled for four years only, and, like his predecessor, he died in office. During the winter preceding his death (1744) an appointment was made, of interest in view of after events; the King's Lieutenant, M. de Bourville, retired, and was succeeded by Major Duchambon who commanded the

garrison during the eventful siege of 1745. Duquesnel died just in time to spare himself the trials of the bombardment, and the humiliation of the surrender.

The shadow of the cloud which burst on Louisbourg in 1745 seemed to have hung over the town for at least the three preceeding years. Requests and complaints are common in all the correspondence exchanged between Governor and Minister ; but between 1742 and 1745 they gathered weight. They were too numerous and couched in too plain language to have any source but in a sense of actual deficiencies and urgent requirements. Such phrases as : "The desperate state of the colony ;" "The pressing needs of the colony ;" "The sad condition of the colony ;" "Distress increasing ;" "Famine increasing ;" "Things are in a deplorable condition." need no comment or explanation. Desertion seems to have been rife. Letter after letter mentions the arrival of recruits, and yet the complaint is ever going forward, "We want more troops." "The fortifications are undergarrisoned," and the like. Absence from duty is frequently mentioned, and it is evident that the free and open life of the woods possessed charms to the French soldier of that day which drew him to them, and recruited the ever-growing numbers of the *coureurs-de-bois*. Lost to civilization, they became in a great measure lost to the service of their mother-land ; and as time and circumstance rendered more secure and more lasting their indention with their savage allies, the policy of the latter largely governed both, and the renegades could no longer claim the rights and privileges of French citizenship.

Troubles in the garrison reached a climax in the last winter of the first French *regimé* (1744-5,) when an open mutiny broke out, which reached serious proportions. It had been the custom for the greater part of the troops to be employed in the construction and repairs of the fortifications, for which they received extra pay. But those in authority forged for themselves another link in the fateful chain which was to bind them to disaster, by attempting to force the troops to work on the repairs without granting the usual remuneration. It is to be feared that the spirit and influence of that master of peculation, Bigot, had so spread that the money withheld from the men was appropriated by the officers. In December, the garrison, or a portion of it—chiefly, it is said, a Swiss corps known as the Karrer regiment—mutinied, and although severe disciplinary measures were promptly taken, and several of the offenders executed, serious trouble existed throughout the

entire winter ; and Duchambon, the Commandant, in writing to France and to Quebec early in April, expressed his wish that the whole garrison should be sent back to France and new regiments sent out. In one particular his wish was granted. The troops did return to France that summer, but in a manner very different from that proposed by the gallant Major. But I anticipate.

The business, growth, and general civic life of Louisbourg during these years can be briefly told. Fish was the chief, in fact almost the only staple of native production ; the trade in this was large and profitable. Several merchants owned as many as 40 or 50 vessels, each with a crew of three or four men, whose pay depended on the quantity of their catch. But fearful and wonderful were the restrictions on trade in those days. Only vessels from France or from the French colonies were permitted to trade freely and bring in what goods they chose ; imports from New England were by law strictly limited to provisions, cattle, timber, and such goods as could not be produced in the mother country and her West Indian colonies. For outward or return cargoes vessels under the British flag were dependent on the unsold portion of the shipments of sugar, molasses and similar products which constituted the cargoes of vessels hailing from the French West Indian ports. English skippers were strictly forbidden to take away with them any specie ; all they sold must be taken out in merchandise. Dry goods, clothing and general household and personal effects were supposed to come from France, and from France alone. To add to the detriment to business in general, and to their own traders in particular, the New England laws had, since 1686, forbidden trade of any sort with Cape Breton or any other French dependency. But as a matter of fact many Yankee skippers, thus repressed and yet determined on business, quieted their sensitive consciences by balancing matters in breaking the laws of both nations. They not only traded with Louisbourg, but brought in contraband goods, which were smuggled with little difficulty, the customs officers of that port being generally open to persuasion of a financial character. Not only so, but whole cargoes of codfish itself, the great and only Cape Breton staple, were brought over from the English colonies, sold to West Indian merchants, and transferred to their vessels in Louisbourg harbour under cover of night, or in some other port in broad daylight. False bills of lading and similar documents were freely used. The English-cured cod was inferior in quality to the Cape Breton article, but could be sold at a much lower figure.

There were other interesting features of the commerce of the port, but limited space forbids me to enlarge on the subject. Knowing that no dependence could be placed on Cape Breton as the sole source of food supply for the garrison and townsfolk of Louisbourg, it had been from an early date the policy of the government to encourage settlers, both from France and from the French residents of now English Acadia, to take up land in the fertile island of St. John. The first came in 1719, and from that date to the downfall of French rule in America, the population showed a steady although small increase, amounting in 1758 to about 4,000 souls. Port-la-joie—now Charlottetown—was made the capital, an officer being stationed there as commandant with a garrison of about 60 men, under the orders of the Governor of Cape Breton. The supplies from this island helped to eke out the stores required for Louisbourg. In neither island did the population increase as rapidly as was wished. As already noted, few Acadians came to Cape Breton ; and the measure which had most effect in augmenting the number of residents was one which legally ordained that every vessel which sailed from France for the island should carry a certain number of men known as "*engagés*," who had agreed to remain there at least three years. Most of these men stayed permanently, and many of them rose to positions of importance in the mercantile life of the town. It may be here noted that while very few of the Acadians came to Cape Breton, to again live under their old flag, they seem to have taken excellent care to use Louisbourg as a means of self-enrichment. De Beauharnois and Hocquart, respectively Governor and Intendant of Canada in 1745, in writing to the Home Ministry, state, "They (the Acadians) are "extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Ile Royale "they have drawn from Louisbourg, by means of their trade in cattle, "and all the other provisions, almost all the specie the King annually "sent out ; it never makes its appearance again, they are particularly "careful to conceal it." Neither as settlers, soldiers, or tradesmen did these vacillating and unfortunate neutrals prove of much value in upholding the *fleur-de-lys* on this continent.

Matters ecclesiastical were of considerable importance in Louisbourg. Six missionary priests of the Recollet order, six brothers of the Charitable Confraternity, and several nuns, were thought necessary to attend to the spiritual, charitable, medical, and educational needs of the town. These were paid by the King, and the remuneration was not meagre. Each priest received 500 livres per annum, and the sum of 1000 livres

was allowed for their maintenance ; they had also three country residences in different parts of the island. The hospital was the finest civic building in Louisbourg ; it had a grant of 3,000 livres for general expenses and 600 livres for medicines, as well as an allowance for each patient. Of the character of the clerics Pichon gives a poor account, and states that much of their time and attention was devoted to inciting the Indian to attacks on English settlements ; his remarks on their duties and behaviour are rather amusing. He speaks in high terms of the nuns. Governor de Brouillan seems also to have been dissatisfied with the clergy of his day,—which was many years before Pichon came on the scene,—as we find him in 1726 complaining bitterly about the Brothers of Charity who, he says, devote their whole time to trade, instead of attending to the patients in the hospital. In another letter he objects to the appointment of Canon Fournel as curé of Louisbourg, which had just been made by the orders of the Bishop of Quebec, who held spiritual jurisdiction over Ile Royale. This protest was repeated a couple of years later, and indicates that there must have been a very pretty and long drawn-out quarrel between the head of the state and the head of the church in the little capital. As a rule, the official correspondence has little or no reference to ecclesiastical matters. There was only one church in the town (with the exception of a small chapel attached to the hospital), and it was built, strange to say, in the centre of the King's bastion, inside the defensive works, and little more than one hundred yards from the crest of the glacis. The nunnery and hospital were both in the town proper.

The government of Louisbourg was essentially a military one ; but the authority was divided. The Governor (subject however, to the Viceroy of Canada) controlled all purely military matters, and those relating to the Indians of the island ; while the Commissioner or Intendant had sole direction of the pay and subsistence of the troops as well as the administration of justice, and the hospitals. This division of authority in a place so far from Paris or Quebec, led at times to serious trouble. Governor and Commissary did not see eye to eye on all occasions, and the result was not edifying. Of the lesser lights, there were a King's Lieutenant, an Attorney General, a Secretary, a Tipstaff, and four or five Counsellors, usually chosen from among the merchants of the town ; these, with Governor and Commissary, constituted the Supreme Council, of which the latter was president. The civil administration and police of the island were under the control of an inferior council, or Bailiwick ;

while all the customs and shipping matters were in the hands of the Admiralty Court, a council of four members. We are told that they all had accumulated considerable fortunes; their courtesy in permitting New England vessels to land contraband goods may have been met with equal kindness on the part of the skippers, and of fully as practical a nature; M. Bigot had lived in Louisbourg for several years, and his policy and habits may have set the fashion to many.

Naturally, matters connected with trade and shipping, with import and export, attracted the chief attention of the civil authorities; but there were other objects on which they had of necessity to bestow much thought, and often vigorous action. Prominent among these was the liquor traffic. From the earlier years of the settlement, ordinances regulating the sale of spirits were promulgated, and were continually being amended as abuses became noticeable, or as the rulers and controllers of this business thought best to ordain. Not a little of the correspondence with the Ministry at Versailles was devoted to the subject, and it is evident that generous indulgence in the flowing bowl was the order of the day year in and year out. Louisbourg was first and foremost a military and naval station, and the soldier and sailor of that day were no less partial to conviviality than are their successors. Owing to the large trade done with France and the West India Islands, brandy, rum, and the like were amazingly cheap; and knowing this, and the utter stagnation of the place for half the year, it is small wonder that intemperance was rampant, and that its devotees often gave trouble to the lords who ruled the town. For even at its best it must have been a dull little city, this Louisbourg, and a place where petty jealousies and petty gossip were bound to exist, and to influence both official and private life. Away at the extreme north-east corner of a vast continent, in which war and savage life were still dominant, isolated by dense forests and stormy waters from those of their kith and kin in America, and completely shut out from the stirring life of France and Europe, service in Louisbourg must have been tedious and irksome to both soldier and civilian, and when is added lack of food and supplies, it cannot be wondered at that some of the humbler class of its defenders sought a freer and more adventuresome life in the woods. But whether the sufferings and straits which the little colony had at times to endure resulted from neglect on the part of France, or from the faults of its own rulers and people, it is difficult to determine. Probably both were to blame. All correspondence and authorities indicate that the officials of the colony were, as a whole, greedy for emolument and

decorations,—a trait incompatible with good governing qualities. On the other hand, the treatment accorded by France to her Louisbourg subjects, presents a strange medley of alternate surfeit and starvation. Millions were lavished on fortifications, while the troops who were to man them could often scarcely obtain the necessaries of life. Store-houses, wharves, and civic buildings were evolved at vast expense, while the garrison (until the last few years) was a meagre one,—in sharp contrast to the number of officials who ruled in both town and fortress.

But while none can deny that the Mother Country was both in honour and duty bound to be ever generous, we must not forget that during almost the entire period in which Louisbourg existed as a fortress, France was in the throes of war and of commercial distress, and had pressing need of every soldier and of every shilling. Startling events had followed each other in rapid succession, and the interest of those in power had of necessity been closely fixed on European and domestic occurrences. Although, as we have seen, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in April, 1713, war had been prolonged for another year. Absolute peace had existed for only a few months when Louis XIV died, and all the excitement and change consequent on the accession of new rulers, monopolised public attention. Under the regency which followed, a startling and unprecedented series of financial measures were adopted; and the excitement thus occasioned had scarcely subsided before France was again at war, this time with Spain. Concurrently with these events, the vast bubble of speculation fathered by the Scottish adventurer, Law, had been swelling beyond all bounds of reason; it burst in 1720, and the disastrous consequences permeated the kingdom, ruining thousands of families, and leaving the financial condition of the country in utter chaos. Peace was declared in 1721, and the Regent and his successor Louis XV, were able to devote a few years attention to domestic troubles; but in 1733 the sword was again drawn, and, with few intermissions, remained unsheathed for fifteen years. It will be seen, therefore, that France and her rulers had much to do at home, which palliates her sins of omission in the garrisoning and victualling of her Cape Breton seaport. Throughout all, the people of that seaport were true to their colours, and never wavered in their loyalty. Save the occasional desertion of soldiers often harshly treated, often insufficiently fed, we read of no neglect of duty, no dalliance with the power which ruled the adjacent provinces, and which held at least a nominal sway over the still nearer colony of Nova Scotia. The mutiny of 1744 was a revolt against gross injustice, and was wholly free from treasonable intent.

II.

The first thirty years of the life of Louisbourg formed, as we have seen, a period of steady growth and of comparative quiet, and were unmarked by the occurrence of any great event. But a startling change was at hand. This fortress and naval station, of enormous strength, well armed and equipped, and the very embodiment of all martial pomp and circumstance, had attained its great power and influence during a time of comparative peace ; now, by a strange mockery, it was to lose its renown and fail in its purpose when first confronted with the reality of war ; equally strange, that to such a fortress so unlooked-for a fate should come at the hands of raw and undisciplined militia. Such was the outcome of the New England expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. To briefly sketch the fortunes of this enterprise must be our next task.

Prior to attempting this, it might be of interest to have a look at the town and harbour as they appeared in the spring of 1745. Approaching the place from the sea we come to the entrance, a sheet of water about one-third of a mile in width, cleaving the rugged shores and leading into the harbour. Passing through, the high bluff on the right was crowned with a lighthouse, which did noble work in its day in warning the mariner from its dangerous shore. To the left was a bunch of rocky knolls and islands, the largest of which,—about 150 yards long by 60 wide,—was strongly fortified with a work known as the Island Battery. Behind it and still further to the left, was the sharp point of land which formed the apex of the triangle on which the town and fortress were built. Passing on, the visitor would find that his craft had entered a beautiful body of water, two miles in length and about half a mile in breadth, with a depth varying from 18 to 36 feet. In from Lighthouse Point, on the east shore of the harbour, was a careening wharf, where ships of the largest class could be treated ; while on the other side, but further north, extended a row of buildings containing naval stores. On the west side, directly opposite to and facing the entrance, was a strong defensive work called the Grand or Royal Battery, armed with twenty-eight 42 pounders and two 18 pounders.

As already mentioned, the town proper occupied the greater part of a triangular-shaped piece of ground which lay between the sea and the south-western end of the harbour. It covered an area of about 100 acres, and its site was elevated several feet above the level of the land

to the west and north, which was, as a rule, low and swampy. Its founders, possibly from unpleasant experience of tortuous lanes in cities in the Old World, and in Quebec in the New, laid out Louisbourg in a regular and precise manner. Six wide streets ran east and west, seven ran north and south ; the houses, as a rule, were of wood, but with stone foundations.

The fortress of Louisbourg was one of enormous strength ; nothing to equal it had ever been seen on this continent, and it was aptly termed the Dunkirk of America,—a simile which, a century and a half ago, was equal to a comparison with Gibraltar at the present day. The more important portions of it, covering attacks from land, were built on the most approved of Vauban's principles, and had cost, it is said, thirty million livres ; to build it had taken little less than twenty years, and repairs and alterations had been since going on almost continually. A walk around the works, along the ramparts, would have involved a tour of nearly two miles. A ditch, eighty feet in width, was cut from harbour to sea, covering the front of the west or main line of works, and also the shorter section, including the Maurepas and Bourillon bastions which faced due east. The west front or main line of fortifications comprised two bastions; the King's and the Queen's, and two demi-bastions, one of which, called the Dauphin's, was at the extreme north-west end of the line and close to the harbour ; at this point also was the West gate (leading out into the country), and the Circular Battery (armed with sixteen 24 pounders) which covered the West gate. The south, or sea end of this line of works, was protected by the Princess' demi-bastion. All were connected by the usual curtains. The citadel, a massive stone building, stood in the gorge of the King's bastion. Here centred the authority which controlled the garrison ; for here was the Governor's dwelling, and the various offices where the duties of the head-quarter staff were performed. Church and State were of necessity in union in one sense, if not in all ; for immediately adjoining the gubernatorial apartments was the parish chapel. Close by was a long stone barracks ; and immediately east of both buildings lay the Place d'Armes. Bomb-proof vaults extended to a considerable depth underneath the flanks of this bastion, and here also were six dungeons for refractory prisoners. The lines of defence which ran parallel to the harbour and to the sea were of lighter construction,—a wall of masonry with banquette ; but the short, north-eastern face of the fortress was of the more massive and elaborate type. The north-east corner of the town had no wall or

defensive works for a space of about two hundred yards ; but it was protected from attack by a large pond, which extended along its front. A somewhat similar gap existed on the sea face, between the Princess and Brouillan bastions, a palisade and ditch being the sole defences ; but in front, shoals, rocky islands, and a continuous heavy surf formed an effectual barrier against hostile attack from this quarter.

Here it may be mentioned that all writers on the subject have stated that the fortifications were not begun until 1720, seven years after the foundation of the place. This statement must be taken with considerable qualification. Louisbourg was by no means without fortifications for the first six or seven years of its existence ; naturally one of the very first steps taken was to erect defensive works ; and the official correspondence and reports from Governor to Ministers as early as 1715, contain frequent reference to the fortifications, and the progress which was being made on them. Whether these works were part of the great system which eventually surrounded the town, or merely of a temporary nature, it is difficult now to speak with absolute certainty. The fact that a medal was struck, bearing the words, " LUDOVICOBURGUM FUNDATUM ET MUNITUM, MDCCXX," lends colour to the latter supposition ; but the above inscription may have referred to the citadel, and the central and dominating work which surrounded it ; or the word 'fundatum' may have been used in the sense of " making secure," a rendering common enough in old days. Be this as it may, both record and reason indicate that fortifications were begun certainly not later than 1715, and also fail to give any ground to the supposition that the works existing in 1720 were then supplanted by a new system. So startling and costly a change would undoubtedly have left many traces in the contemporary official letters, reports, and memoranda.

The period when they may be fairly considered as completed is also an uncertain one, but a study of the communications and reports sent home would indicate that about 1733 the main defensive works were practically finished. True it is that the official correspondence, even as late as 1744, shows that there still remained work to be done ; but it is safe to conclude that much of this additional work was the result of after-thought, and of the new ideas that suggested themselves from time to time to the chief engineer of the day. As an outcome of one of the many odd phases of human nature, it has been the almost invariable rule in fortresses and strong defensive works, that each incoming governor, commandant, or chief engineer should deem it his bounden duty to suggest

alterations and additions,—often very considerable ones,—to the original plan ; this not necessarily to imply ignorance or lack of care on the part of his predecessors, but to show to his superior officer that he has a mind and ideas of his own, and that he is fully up to date in his profession,—in a word, that he is a valuable man. Apart from this, it seems indisputable that for all practical purposes, the fortifications of Louisbourg were completed many years before the arrival of the New England Armada. As early as 1728 the Governor, de Brouillan, in a despatch to the Minister of Marine, states that the fortifications are almost finished, and in October, 1733, he reports that they are completed. Six years later de Brouillan was succeeded by de Forant, who reported officially a few weeks after his arrival : “ We have found the “ fortifications in good condition, considering the fact that in this climate “ mortar will not hold when exposed to the air ; and this is so well “ known that settlers who have the means to do so, face their houses “ with boards. M. Verrier has done well in getting the battlements “ and remainder of the new enciente faced in that way.” Further correspondence speaks of more work being necessary ; but such undoubtedly had reference to repairs, or additions decided on after the completion of the main defences. As to the exact armament of the various works in the spring of 1745, there is a wide difference of opinion among the authorities on the subject. The chief fortifications, enclosing the town, had embrasures for 148 guns ; but by what seems to have been extraordinary carelessness, there was not much more than half that number of cannon in position. The Royal battery, on the west side of the harbour, mounted 18 forty-two-pounders and 2 eighteen-pounders ; while the Island battery, which commanded the entrance, had by actual count immediately after the surrender, 26 heavy guns and 4 swivels. The garrison amounted to about 1800 men, regulars and militia ; the population of the town itself was about 4000. 9

War between France and England was declared by the former power on the 15th March, 1744, and the news reached Louisbourg early in May. The Governor at once adopted measures both defensive and offensive, little thinking that the effects of the latter would, within one short year, recoil on himself, or rather on his successor ; for, as we have already noted, he died in the following November. England was now his active enemy ; and he lost no time in striking at her power.

While Britain had by treaty been the sovereign lord of Nova Scotia for over thirty years, her hold on that colony was in reality a very

feeble one. A few isolated posts alone existed to maintain King George's authority, almost the whole settled part of the country being occupied by the Acadians, nominally neutral, but in reality ardent well-wishers to French success. British colonial policy was at this period of the most feeble and vacillating type ; European affairs monopolized the attention of the Ministry, and the North American dependencies were almost wholly left to shift for themselves. Nova Scotia was especially weak both in troops and in loyal inhabitants. Writing home in December 1743, Mascarene, the Governor of that colony, says, in reference to the possibility of war with France : " This province is in a far worse condition for defence than the other American plantations who have inhabitants to defend them ; whilst, far from having any dependence on ours we are obliged to guard against them." He then goes on to describe the two forts which guarded the colony. That at Canso consisted of a wooden block-house, built at the expense of the fishermen of the place, and garrisoned by four companies of soldiers ; at Annapolis there existed a rather dilapidated earthwork, its deficiencies patched up with timber, and held for the King by less than two hundred of his men. Such were the sole defences of Nova Scotia ; and for the French Governor to have made no attempt to seize so rich and ill-guarded a prize, would have indeed seemed a gross omission of faithful duty to his sovereign.

The attempt was made and made quickly. On the 12th of May, a very few days after the receipt of the news of the declaration of war, an expedition—made up of a few armed vessels containing about 900 men—set out from Louisbourg for Canso, and took possession of that fort, and of the little garrison, and carried the latter to Louisbourg as prisoners of war. The news soon reached Annapolis, and caused no little dismay among the troops who occupied that post ; and for this the ruinous state of the defences afforded ample reason. They feared that the restless energy of France, as personified by the Governor of the great Franco-American fortress, would use all possible means to sweep from Acadia every vestige of British power ; and events soon proved their apprehensions to be well founded. On the 1st of July a party of about three hundred Indians appeared in front of the fort, and invested it in the usual way,—much irregularity, unexpected attacks, and an expenditure of great energy on the cutting off of stragglers and small detached parties ; but the arrival of reinforcements for the garrison from Boston disheartened the savages, and they gave up the siege, and returned

to Minas to await the strong party of troops which had been sent from Louisbourg, via Chignecto, to attack Annapolis. This party, under the command of M. Duivivier, an officer of the Louisbourg garrison, arrived at Minas towards the end of August ; and the combined force, numbering not less than 700 fighting men proceeded without delay to the British stronghold. Stout old Major Mascarene, the commandant, had not been idle in the interval between the two attacks, and now made as brave a show as was possible. His numbers were small—barely one-third of those of his opponents ; but his defence was vigorous and whole-hearted. The French commander did his utmost to induce Mascarene to capitulate, and swore that a formidable naval force was *en route* to take part in the attack ; but the negotiations failed, and, not long afterwards, the siege came to an inglorious end, Duivivier and his troops making their way back to Louisbourg, his expedition an utter failure. His naval auxiliaries did not materialize, and he received practically no aid from the Acadian settlers.

Small and insignificant as had been these events of the campaign of 1744, they engendered a feeling of marked unrest in the neighboring English colonies ; and especially was this felt in Massachusetts and its capital. A force of 500 men was organised for frontier defence ; but these, scattered throughout the province in small detachments, would have been able to render but little aid had Boston been attacked, an event which might be looked for so long as the fortress of Louisbourg existed. And now the question of the possibility of the removal of this formidable menace began to creep into the brains of some of the bolder of the provincials. We have already seen that in 1733, Governor Cosby, of the province of New York, in sending home his report of the visit of a deputation from Louisbourg to purchase food supplies, had hinted at the possibility of the capture of that much dreaded fortress. It is more than probable that his veiled suggestions met with no response from their lordships, for there the matter ended. Eight years later his successor in office, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke—a man who had been for almost half a century connected officially with the province—devoted one of his letters to the Duke of Newcastle to the subject of “ how we may dispossess the French of the footing they have got on the back of all the English colonies on this continent.” Here appears the first definite proposal for the capture of the Cape Breton fortress. To quote the plain and business-like statement of the veteran governor :

"To the Northward of the Lake, viz : in Canada and at the Island
 "of Breton the French are stronger both in men and Fortifications, so
 "that a much greater force will be required to subdue them ; the
 "harbour of Louisbourg at Breton is strongly fortified and the entrance
 "defended by a Battery of fifty guns, there is depth of water sufficient
 "for the biggest ships, and the harbor is capable of containing a very
 "large fleet ; its situation gives them all the advantages, they can wish
 "for, it secures their own navigation to Quebec, and gives them but too
 "great opportunities to annoy and interrupt our Fishery ; in the Winter
 "they have few men upon the Island except their garrisons, but are
 "secured by the cold, the snow and ice. In summer they are strength-
 "ened by the great numbers of men employed in their fishery ; the
 "only time therefore to attempt with most advantage the taking of the
 "place will be at the breaking up of the winter, and before their ships
 "come from France, and this may be done ; for if His Majesty's ships to
 "be appointed for that service winter at Boston, they may block up the
 "harbor of Louisbourg before any ships from France can arrive there,
 "and His Majesty's troops may land when the least opposition can be
 "given them, and for this expedition I am persuaded that four or five
 "thousand men may be raised in New England, if the Officers, as they
 "were for the expedition against the Spaniards be appointed in these
 "provinces, but then I presume it will be necessary they be disciplined
 "before they embark, so that if the orders and commissions be sent
 "over the summer before, and a sufficient number of subalterns to
 "teach them their exercise, they may before the ensuing spring be fit
 "for service, but I presume some veterans from England will be
 "absolutely necessary to join the Americans, under the command of an
 "experienced General. If we take Cape Breton and have constantly
 "there and at Placentia in those months wherein those seas are navig-
 "able, a sufficient number of ships of war to guard our Fishery, they
 "may intercept the French Ships bound to or from Canada, and thereby
 "reduce that Country to great necessity, and their communication with
 "Messasippi being cut off by the means proposed that country will
 "become an easier conquest."

Governor Clarke's proposal was a shrewd and sensible one, and it
 fairly well outlines the plan of the expedition which followed. Two
 years later he returned to the charge, for in a report sent home in
 the spring of 1743, entitled, "State of the British Provinces with
 respect to the French who surround them," he says :

"If ever it be thought adviseable to attempt again to take Canada,
 "the dispossessing the French of their mastery on the Lake and of the
 "Fort at the Crown point, will greatly facilitate the Enterprize, but
 "before we begin the work, I presume to think we ought to take Cape
 "Breton, a Place well fortified, and from whence the French can annoy
 "our Fishery at Newfoundland, and guard their own navigation to and
 "from Canada. That place is such a Thorn in the sides of the New

"England people, that its very probable a large body of men may be raised there to assist in any such design. And if proper Officers are sent from England in the Summer to exercise them, they may by the ensuing spring be well disciplined, as all their Youth are expert in the use of fire arms. from the unrestrained liberty of Fowling, which obtains in all the Provinces, and I conceive the Spring is the most proper season to attack the place before the Men of Warr and Fishing Vessells come from France, for in the Winter they have few men except the Garrisons, and Boston being a proper Port for our Fleet to harbour in the Winter, we may block up the Harbour of Breton before the ships from France can come upon the coast."

It will be noted that these primary representations of the great desirability of the reduction of Louisbourg came from New York ; the next plea emanated from an official of the province of Massachusetts Bay, Judge of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty for that province and for New Hampshire His proposal is dated from his lodgings in Cecil-street, London, the 9th of April, 1744, but was not published until July of the following year, when it appeared in pamphlet form, entitled, "The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation, humbly represented by Robert Auckmuty, Judge, &c., in New England. N. B. Upon the plan laid down in this representation, the island was taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperill on the 14th of June, 1745." Auckmuty's proposal also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that month (July). It suggests an expedition similar in general design to that which set out, and states that there would likely be little or no objection on the part of the provincial governments to bear their share of the burden ; to use his own language, "Having experienced the loyalty of the Massachusetts for twenty-seven years, I presume to engage they will cheerfully furnish their complement."

All the foregoing proposals for the expedition were, be it noted, written by civilians, not soldiers ; and to this fact it may possibly be due that they appear to have evoked no responsive echo in those to whom they were addressed. They were for English eyes alone ; and to the Englishman of that day Cape Breton was practically a myth. On the minds of the King's Ministers, colonial matters and colonial troubles sat lightly, and we can well imagine were at this time quite eclipsed by the chequered events occurring nearer home. War with Spain had been declared in 1739, forced by the merchants and trading classes who had for years felt the strong hand of Spanish repression on their business, and even on their rights, in the South American trade. Unknown to Walpole, England's First Minister, a compact for mutual

aid existed between Spain and France; and the latter soon joined forces against Britain. The combination was a strong one and had the best of it during the earlier years of the war; and Walpole, who had strenuously supported a peace policy, was forced to resign office early in 1742. For a year or two Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville) directed foreign affairs, and during his regime the decisive victory at Dettingen brightened English hopes. In 1744 nothing of great moment was effected by the naval and military forces, and during that year and the following winter and spring public attention was absorbed in politics, a change of ministry occurring in November. We may safely conclude that even those residents of England who were aware of the existence of such a place as Louisbourg, seldom allowed the subject of its relation to their American dependencies to present itself over-frequently to their minds. Little did either Ministry or people think that during that winter there was being evolved, far off in New England, a project, the result of which would have no small effect on old-world policy.

We have seen that the small post at Canso had been taken by an expedition from Louisbourg early in 1744. The British garrison had been brought to that fortress as prisoners of war, but subsequently were sent to Boston; and, after their arrival there, it would have been more than strange had not their chief topic of conversation been about their residence in the French citadel. The idea of an attack on the fortress was freely discussed, and the benefits to be derived from its capture were enlarged upon; but no action was taken until about the end of 1744, when it entered into the mind of a New Hampshire gentleman-trader, William Vaughan by name, that the much dreaded Louisbourg could perhaps be captured by an expedition, chiefly if not wholly from the New England colonies. Vaughan was a man in the prime of life, well educated, and of good social position; he had irrepressible energy, and when embarked on an undertaking put forth more than ordinary determination to accomplish his ends. In the latter trait he was fully equalled by the then governor of Massachusetts Bay, William Shirley, an Englishman, trained to the law, but with an uncommon interest in military matters, and no small conceit of his as yet undeveloped ability in this line.

To Shirley, Vaughan propounded his plan; it was as a spark to the train, and the fire ran swiftly. Nothing could have pleased the Governor better than to father such a proposal, and without delay he called together the General Court of Massachusetts—the little Parlia-

ment which held sway over the colony—and, after swearing the members to absolute secrecy, he laid before them the proposal for an attack on the Cape Breton capital, and asked their authorization of the necessary ways and means. It was a startling suggestion to the quiet and peace-loving legislators who composed the Court, and, with the prospect before them of probable great loss in money and men, it is not surprising that after several days deliberation they rejected the scheme. But in the meantime the news had leaked out—possibly, as Pepperrell's biographer tells us, through the religious fervor of one of the members of the Court whose prayers for Divine guidance in this momentous question were so loud as to be overheard. Shirley and another well-wisher to the scheme, James Gibson, drew up a petition to the Assembly praying that they reconsider their decision, and had it signed by a large number of New England merchants, to whose trade Louisbourg had been a deadly enemy. This carried great weight. Vaughan and Shirley put forth all their energy and powers of persuasion. The Assembly reconsidered their decision, and finally, by a majority of one, authorised the expedition.

This all-important preliminary settled, recruiting was briskly gone on with, and the neighbouring provinces were promptly called on for aid in men and shipping. Shirley no doubt was sanguine that hearty and generous responses would follow his appeal; but if so he was quickly undeceived. Each colony was jealous of its neighbour, and the patriotism of each was of the most narrow type;—dominated by self-interest it was confined to provincial limits and existed solely for provincial ends. The spirit of Imperialism which now runs so strongly through Greater Britain had no counter-part in the British America of 1745. Although France was the common enemy, and Louisbourg the common menace, only three provinces—New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island—could be induced to promise to give substantial aid in men to the expedition. New Hampshire guaranteed a regiment of five hundred men, of whom one hundred and fifty were to be paid by Massachusetts; Connecticut, soldiers to the number of five hundred and sixteen, on condition that one of her officers should be second in command. Rhode Island, at first generous enough to promise one hundred and fifty fighting men, subsequently decided to limit her help to an armed vessel. New York, the richest of all the provinces, was naturally looked to for a measure of assistance befitting her premier position; but in spite of the earnest efforts of Governor

Clinton, the Assembly—who as a whole were singularly lacking in patriotism and public spirit—would only vote the paltry sum of £3000, after debating the question for a fortnight. The governor, justly incensed at this and other evasions of duty, dismissed them to their homes ; and then busily applied himself to aid the New England troops by forwarding them ten pieces of cannon—a most useful and timely gift. The new Assembly did not meet until the 25th of June, and would then only increase the grant to £5000. The energetic governor subsequently raised by subscription £2000 for provisions for the New England men, as much more for clothing, and £900 for gunpowder. But all's well that ends well ; and as the British Government subsequently repaid the entire cost of the expedition, the meagre measure of aid given to Massachusetts in this patriotic enterprise made no practical difference to her treasury.

The command of the whole expedition was given to William Pepperell, a merchant of Kittery, then a part of Massachusetts. The choice was an excellent one in every way. He had little or no martial training, but was by no means deficient in courage ; he had tact, a quiet temper, and above all, a fund of good common sense. As a citizen-soldier he could better handle a newly raised army of like nature than could one trained to the letter of strictest discipline, and to the command of veterans. Pepperell was at this time in his forty-ninth year.

Within seven weeks the little army was recruited, and all necessary preparations for the expedition completed. The call for active service against the French had met with a ready response from the hardy yeomen of Massachusetts, those from Maine (then a part of the first-named province) being especially eager, in offering their services. There was apparently no age limit, nor was a medical examination deemed necessary ; seeming good health and vigour, and freedom from physical defects, comprised the qualifications for acceptance. Each man was to receive pay at the rate of twenty-five shillings provincial currency a month, but supplied his own arms and uniform, of which a scarlet coat or tunic formed part. When completed, the force comprised eight regiments from Massachusetts, commanded respectively by Colonels Bradstreet, Waldo, Dwight, Moulton, Willard, Hale, Richmond and Gorham. Colonel Burr was in command of the Connecticut regiment, while the New Hampshire battalion was led by Colonel Gorham. General Wo'cott of Connecticut was second-in-command of the whole force. The total strength was 4070 men, 3250 of whom were from Massachusetts, 516 from Connecticut, and 304 from New Hampshire.

A fleet of from eighty to ninety transports was required to convey the army to its destination. These vessels were secured without difficulty, as every New England seaport swarmed with small craft available for this purpose. By the side of the ships now employed in similar service the transports of 1745 would indeed be pigmies ; from the size of these cockleboats their passengers had a minimum of space and a maximum of discomfort. As convoy while *en route* and for possible naval operations when in the enemy's waters, a small but sturdy company of sloops, schooners and the like was got together, armed and made ready for war, and placed under the command of Captain Edward Tyng, a naval officer of excellent reputation for courage and efficiency. Amid loud and heartfelt enthusiasm, and closely followed by prayer and blessing, the main body of the expedition set sail on the 23rd of March.

Of the voyage across that short but stormy bit of ocean between Boston and Breton there was everything to depress these eighteenth century crusaders,—nothing to brighten. In the grip of the Atlantic, which was in a fierce and scornful mood, the little transports pitched and rolled incessantly ; and most of the passengers, all military ardour gone and forgotten, longed with an intense longing for an end to their journey, be that end what it might. For several days they tossed about, often in imminent danger ; but the marvellous good-luck or Providential care—call it what you wish—which attended so closely on the enterprise, guarded it from the very first, and not a single transport was lost. The harbour of Canso was their destination, and during the first few days of April they came dropping into port, until the roll was complete. The New Hampshire contingent was the first on the ground, having arrived before the end of March, while the Connecticut regiment did not turn up until about the tenth of April. Here it was that, only eleven months previously, a French detachment from the Louisbourg garrison had fired the first shot in this war ; truly their chickens had now come home to roost.

Steady drill and hard work was at once the order of the day. The troops were raw and lacked all technical training in their new profession as well as the more subtle and more effective quality known as discipline. There was no sprinkling of veterans in the ranks of the force to impart to it a soldierly tone, nor had the greater number of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, any practical experience. So great was the necessity for drill, that even Sundays could not be observed as days of rest ; the chaplain, Father Moody, held service it is

true, but it was concurrent with parades and the exercising of recruits. A block-house was built and armed with a few light guns, and a guard of 90 or 100 men detailed as its garrison. None were idle. Several of the cruisers were sent forward beyond Louisbourg, to watch for any French ships which might endeavour to slip into the harbour with reinforcements and supplies, and did effective work in this way. Another party was sent to Baie Verte—where a settlement existed and flourished even at that early date—to do all possible damage, and especially to try to cut off food supplies which were at times shipped to Louisbourg from that place ; but they did nothing beyond burning the houses and boats of some inoffensive settlers. They were able to beat off the frigate *Renommée*, on her way from France with despatches and stores for the Louisbourg garrison, and also made several small prizes.

During all this time, other agencies had been quietly but powerfully at work adding force to the crusade. While drawing his main strength from New England, in men, money and ships, Shirley had not been forgetful of other potent strings to his bow. By a happy measure of foresight—one which turned out to be that on which the final success of the attack hinged—he had, in the fall of 1744, written to the Duke of Newcastle to say that some of the King's ships would probably be required on the New England and Nova Scotian coast to protect the fisheries from French attack ; whereupon the Duke of Bedford, First Lord of the Admiralty, instructed Commodore Peter Warren—then in chief command of the North American squadron—to sail for Boston and act with Shirley in the furtherance of British interests. Despatch vessels were very slow sailers in those days, and before these instructions reached Warren he had received word direct from Shirley, conveying the startling news of the New England expedition, and asking for more assistance. As the project did not have the King's sanction, Warren declined to help ; but on receipt of the instructions from England a few days later, he set sail at once for Boston. While *en route* he met a schooner hailing from that port, which brought news of the departure of the flotilla for Canso ; to Canso he therefore proceeded without delay. He carried his flag on the *Superb*, a 60-gun ship ; and with him were two 40-gun frigates—the *Launceston* and *Mermaid*. The other vessels under his command were also ordered to Cape Breton.

On the 22nd of April the first ship of the fleet sailed into Canso harbour,—she was the *Eltham*, a fine frigate of 40 guns, commanded by Captain Durell. Her appearance must have gladdened Pepperrell's

anxious heart ; and still more must he have rejoiced when he heard that the Commodore himself, with his three best ships, might soon be expected. With the promptitude characteristic of his profession, that officer arrived on the following day ; and, after but a short stay in Canso, went on with his ships to assist Captain Tyng's plucky little squadron in blockading Louisbourg harbour.

While the stay in Canso had been most useful—in fact almost essential—in giving some idea of drill and discipline to the invaders, it had been largely an enforced one, as the ice which blocked the proposed landing-place during nearly the entire month of April rendered disembarkation for attack an impossibility. But by the 26th news came that the coast was clear ; camp was struck and preparations were hurriedly made, and early on the morning of the 29th, the army took ship—a detachment of two hundred and seventy men to destroy the fort and settlement at St. Peter's—the rest for the goal of their desire, Gabarus Bay, near Louisbourg. They had hoped to arrive that same night, and push on to the attack under cover of darkness, in accordance with the highly theoretical plan laid down in Boston by Shirley ; but the wind fell, and it was not until the following morning that they reached the vicinity of the town. We can well fancy with what intense eagerness the soldiers crowded the decks of their transports to gaze on the famous fortress. Before them were the massive walls and battlements which enclosed what was to the New England soldiery the chief prop of the power of France in the new world ; and misgivings must have crowded into many hearts when their owners saw for the first time the formidable proportions of the casket which enclosed the prize. But the very richness of the latter, exaggerated beyond all reason in their simple minds, was in itself no small incentive to perseverance in their design ; while the *elan* characteristic of volunteers aided them in looking forward with confidence to the result.

Meanwhile, were not the French hard at work during all this time, making active preparations for a warm reception to these unasked and unwelcome visitors ? To the discredit of the governor, Duchambon, the answer must be a negative one. Several historians of the campaign have stated that the garrison was entirely ignorant of the existence of the expedition until the ships were visible ; but this seems difficult to credit, from the fact of the long wait at Canso, the skirmishes there with French and Indians (some of whom would assuredly have sent word to the town) and the appearance of the war-vessels in front of the

Faint

fortress for so many days previously. In fact a certain unique pamphlet ("Lettre d'une habitant de Louisbourg") quoted by Parkman, states that the garrison had heard of the proposed expedition, but judged the news too improbable to be true. Duchambon—sharing in the thorough contempt in which French officers held militia—doubtless pooh-poohed the whole affair, and laughed at the idea of such men taking such a fortress. Beyond having stationed a detachment of forty men on the shore of the bay to watch for and resist a landing, the French commandant appears to have made absolutely no preparations to meet the incoming wave, although so big and vehement in its hostility to France. But he was rudely startled from any sense of comparative security which he may have entertained, by the appearance, on the morning of the 30th of April, of a vast cloud of transports under British colours, their decks crowded with scarlet-clad foemen ; and he hastily sent out eighty men under command of a trusty officer, to prevent the landing of the invaders. Here Pepperrell's rough-and-ready common sense was more than a match for the formal methods of the French commander. He made the pretence of attempting to land a few boat-loads of men at a place called Flat Point, about three miles from the town ; but recalled them to the flagship and then suddenly sent them off at hot speed to Freshwater Bay, a little inlet about a mile and a half to the westward. The French ran to intercept them, but the boats reached the appointed spot first ; and the New Englanders hastily landing, dashed at their enemies, killed six, took as many prisoners, and drove the rest headlong into the town. Morpain, the French commander, was one of those captured.

First blood had now been shed, and the invading Britons, raw militia though they were, had shown no signs of funk—in fact quite the reverse. So far everything had resulted in their favour. A host of other boats of the fleet, all crowded with men, followed close in the wake of the attacking party, and soon secured their footing on shore. Two thousand men were landed that day, followed on the morrow by the remainder of the force. Once established they quickly made themselves at home and, after spending a night in the open with little or no shelter, they moved towards the town and pitched their tents on the banks of a little stream near Flat Point, about two miles from the walls of the fortress. Much latitude appears to have been given by Pepperrell to his regimental commanders, for it is on record that at least one of these officers formed his encampment considerably nearer the town than did the rest of the army ; but his tents were soon a mark for the enemy's gunners, and he and his men had to beat a hasty retreat.

The British general lost no time in useless delay. With him, probably in the capacity of a staff-officer, was Vaughan, the originator of the expedition and one of its most zealous officers. To him was entrusted the playing of the first card in the game now beginning ; and he played it uncommonly well. As soon as the troops were landed he was despatched by Pepperrell at the head of a party of four hundred men, towards the north-east end of the harbour, to gain information and to do all possible damage to the enemy. With an audacity of which only militia would be capable, the detachment, when on the high ground opposite the town, halted and gave three cheers ; they then proceeded to their destination, avoiding the Royal battery *en route* (which, as we have before noted, was a strong and heavily-armed work on the north shore) and burnt all the naval storehouses which were dotted along the bank of the north-east harbour. A dense smoke arose, which, wafted into the Royal battery, added to the fears of its garrison. Thierry, the commanding officer, had already recommended to Duchambon that the battery be abandoned, the cannon spiked, and the works blown up. This advice the governor had determined to follow, except the demolition of the works, to which the King's engineer, Verrier, had objected. In a senseless panic, Thierry and his men now hurried over to the town, spiking the guns it is true, but leaving a most valuable lot of ordnance stores intact. But all this was then unknown to Vaughan and his detachment. They spent the night in the neighbourhood of the burning storehouses, and in the morning were returning to camp in an irregular manner when Vaughan, with a party of sixteen men, while passing the battery noticed its apparent absence of life ; struck by this, he stopped, and bribed a friendly Indian to reconnoitre. The work was empty. Vaughan and his handful of men ran in and took possession, and without delay sent a messenger to General Pepperrell stating that they had entered the Royal battery, and were waiting for a reinforcement and a flag. To make temporary amends for the latter, one of the men, William Tufts by name, doffed his red coat, gripped it with his teeth, and, with reckless bravado, climbed the flag-staff and made fast the scarlet symbol at the top. When the gunners in the town saw the improvised bunting they hurled at it a shower of shot but to no effect. Seeing but a small party of the invaders in possession, a French detachment of a hundred men was hastily sent to re-occupy the battery, their main object, doubtless, being to bring off the valuable stores which had been left there ; but Vaughan and his handful of men ran down to the

beach, and in the most courageous manner stood there firing on the boats. In the meantime Pepperrell had hurried off a reinforcement which came to Vaughan's assistance at this critical juncture, and the Frenchmen returned to the shelter of their fortress.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of this acquisition to the besiegers. Their great weakness lay in lack of heavy guns; and so utterly deficient were they in this respect, that had their opponents been able to retain the Royal Battery, or even to have taken time before leaving to render the cannon useless, it is doubtful if the main object of the expedition would have been accomplished; their blind panic in this instance was the most fatal of their errors. They fired heavily at the work all that day and for many days after; but the mischief was done. The English commander immediately had a staff of men at work drilling out the touchholes of the pieces, and in two or three days his gunners were doing serious damage to the Louisbourg defences with French shot fired from French cannon. Other batteries were also established and at work in short order. Although the guns which the New England men had brought with them had to be dragged a distance of nearly two miles across a deep marsh, the vehement spirit of the men enabled them to quickly accomplish this, each piece of artillery being loaded on a rough sledge and then pulled through the mire by a gang of two hundred soldiers. The base of the artillery attack was a clump of hills which lay due north of the town; and here on the 4th of May, the besiegers opened fire from a battery of four light pieces of cannon and three mortars, two of which were, however, found useless. On the 7th, ten coehorns were placed in position at a spot 900 yards from the town; and within a few days, this battery was strengthened by the accession of eight 22-pr. guns, and by those from the battery which had been first erected. The fire from this, and from the Royal battery, was most destructive; the shot tore through the walls, knocked over houses, and caught the citadel and King's bastion in flank. Five hundred men manned these batteries; and all ammunition, stores and provisions for their use had to be transported through the knee-deep mud from the camp at head-quarters, two miles distant. Governor Shirley—but a theorist in military matters—had expected the immediate capitulation of the fortress, having planned (on paper) for its complete surprise. This may account in part for the woeful lack of stores, which was one of the features of the expedition; but the ignorance of its leaders on all matters—except courage and pluck—which constitute military efficiency,

was no doubt mainly responsible for the deficiencies which existed—deficiencies which resulted in a vast deal of sickness, much loss of life, and, but for weather extraordinarily favourable, might have brought about the utter failure of the expedition. For the men lacked tents, extra clothing, often even necessary food ; and in spite of their unconquerable spirit, an epidemic of sickness clung to the camp, as many as fifteen hundred men being down at one time.

But Pepperrell and his militia-men stuck to their guns, fired them so constantly (and, possibly, so injudiciously) during the day that many of them burst, and, under cover of night and fog, toiled and strove at bringing fresh batteries into play closer to the city walls. On the 16th, the coehorns and two other mortars were pushed forward to a point about 440 yards from the west gate of the town ; and, on the next day an advanced battery was planted at a distance of only 250 yards from the west gate. This was armed with 18 and 42 pounders, dragged at night by squads of men from the Royal battery, two miles distant by road. On the 20th, more heavy guns were put in position on a piece of rising ground opposite the west gate, across the harbour. This last was known as Titcomb's battery, from the officer of that name in command. From morning till night these groups of cannon kept hammering away at the French fortifications, and also did a vast deal of damage to the buildings of the town itself. There was a great scarcity of experienced gunners among the New England men, and many and disastrous were the accidents which happened ; the bursting of cannon was of daily occurrence, and almost as many men were disabled from this cause as from the fire of the enemy. With the exception of the ten guns given by New York, those which had been brought over proved in many instances worse than useless.

From the very beginning of the siege the two commanders, Warren and Pepperrell, acted in close concert. The former appears to have been an excellent type of the naval officer of that day—brave, impulsive, strong in his convictions, and inclined to be overbearing in his demeanour towards soldiers and civilians. Had a fiery and hot-tempered warrior been in command of the New England forces, it is more than probable that continual clashing would have ensued between the two chiefs, with the result of serious harm to the service on which they were employed ; but as it was, Pepperrell's calmness, good nature and good sense enabled him to discuss and plan arrangements with Warren in the most amicable manner, and to ignore those ebullitions of apparent

temper which at times cropped out in the correspondence of the impatient commodore. Both were loyal and enthusiastic Britons and equally zealous for the success of His Majesty's arms.

The two commanders, alike untrained in the somewhat tedious methods of military engineering, and with little sympathy for the slow formalities of a methodical siege, were bent on bringing matters to a crisis with least possible delay. The battery on the island at the entrance to the harbour—a heavily-armed and well-defended work—was a *bête noir* to Warren, eager to work his ships into the port and assist in the bombardment ; and three or four days after the landing a joint attack on this battery was talked of, to come off as soon as Pepperrell's guns were in position. On the 7th, the British leader summoned the town to surrender—an invitation which was promptly declined by Duchambon ; following which, Warren urged a night attack on the island, and on three successive evenings preparations were made for the assault ; on each occasion rough weather prevented the embarkation. The storming of the town itself was decided on for the night of the 9th ; but soon after the decision, more prudent thoughts prevailed, and the attack was postponed. The energies of the New England men were then concentrated on the bombardment and on the work of pushing their batteries closer to the town—work most laborious and demanding all the available strength of the little army. Both Warren and Pepperrell had before this written for more men and stores, the former to the governments of the southern colonies, the latter to Shirley. Eighteen transports were sent to Boston to bring the expected reinforcements, but failed to return during the period of the siege.

Up to this time the chief work and honours of the campaign had fallen to the share of the land forces ; to Warren's squadron, hitherto confined to a passive and uneventful blockade, the opportunity now came to take a more active share in hostilities. On the 19th of May they saw a large man-of-war under French colours, making for the entrance to the harbour. This was the *Vigilant*, a sixty-four gun vessel, commanded by the Marquis de la Maison Forte, and carrying stores and munitions of war for the beleagured garrison. Intercepted and attacked by the British cruisers she made a brave fight ; but, single-handed, she had small chance of success, and finally had to strike her flag after a loss of eighty men. Her cargo proved a most welcome addition to the commissariat and ordnance stores of the besiegers, the latter of which at this time was at a low ebb. Pepperrell's stock of powder and heavy

shot was, in fact, entirely finished long before the end of May, and his necessities were thereafter supplied by the naval authorities. Warren began to receive accessions to his little fleet, which, at the beginning of June, stood as follows :

<i>Superb,</i>	40	guns.....	Capt. Somers.
<i>Eltham,</i>	40	"	" Durell.
<i>Laureton,</i>	40	"	" Calmady.
<i>Mermaid,</i>	40	"	" Douglas.
<i>Princess Mary,</i>	60	"	" Edwards.
<i>Hector,</i>	40	"	" Cornwall.
<i>Vigilant,</i>	64	"	" Montague.

In addition to these there were the Provincial cruisers which have been already mentioned.

The whole flotilla was now kept on the *qui vive* in the expectation of attack from a strong French squadron which had been fitted out at Brest, and of which the *Vigilant* was supposed to have been the fore-runner. This intensified the fiery commodore's anxiety to gain possession of Louisbourg prior to possible reverses by sea or by land ; for rumours were current that a strong expedition of French and Indians were on the way to attack the New England troops in rear. The fact that more than one-third of the latter were unfit for duty by reason of sickness did not make the prospect more cheering ; and Warren vehemently urged on Pepperrell the necessity for an assault on the town, sending him (on the 24th of May) a proposition embodying full details. These were not agreeable to Pepperrell's officers, and the storming of the place was therefore deferred ; but an immediate attack on the island battery had been decided on, and at midnight on the 26th about three hundred men put off in small boats to make the assault. This appears to have been informally and irregularly arranged, and was far less creditable to those who planned it than to those who took part in its dangers. The latter seem to have elected their own officers for the occasion—a thing in itself flagrantly subversive of discipline—and, under command of a man named Brooks, pulled quietly for the island. The boats reached its shores safely, but found a very contracted landing place. When about one-half of the party had been safely disembarked, they had the imprudence to give three loud cheers ; the French garrison sprang to arms and opened a heavy and effective fire on their assailants and on the crowded mass of boats waiting to land their living cargoes. The rear vessels sheered off and got out of range as quickly as possible ; and

although the men on shore made a bold dash for the ramparts and even succeeded in planting scaling ladders against the walls, they were practically at the mercy of their opponents. They made a plucky fight of it till daybreak, and then surrendered at discretion. Their total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was one hundred and eighty-nine men. The effects of those three hasty cheers made a sad hole in the little English army.

This reverse was a startling lesson in discipline to the besiegers ; but instead of disheartening, it nerved them to new efforts. Gorham's regiment had been encamped at Lighthouse Point, at the eastern end of the entrance to the harbour, and directly opposite to the island battery. It was now determined to put heavy guns in position at this point, and to endeavour to crush out the effectiveness of the French work by artillery fire. Strong working parties were forthwith employed on the duty of transporting heavy cannon and mortars from the main attack to this position ; but the work was necessarily slow and most laborious, and it was the 11th of June before any guns were ready to open fire. For their reception and defence Gorham and his men had built a strong battery, with embrasures directly flanking the line of French cannon on the island. Every shot told ; and the island battery, which had so long divided the British naval and military forces was, in turn, now wholly dominated by its new adversary.

During all this time, an unremitting artillery battle had been going on between the English guns in front of the west gate, and the circular battery and other heavy ordnance which guarded that part of the fortress. On both sides the labours of the combatants were most severe, the nights being employed in attempting to repair the damage done by the opposing cannon during the day. But the French works suffered most, and, in spite of the toil and engineering skill of their defenders, gradually fell into a ruinous and almost helpless condition. Everything favoured the besiegers. The weather continued singularly fine ; the nights grew shorter, and the screen of darkness necessary for repairs to the damaged masonry became less as the necessity for such repairs increased. Experienced gunners and ample supplies of ammunition for the attacking guns were obtained from the ships ; and the New England Britons—scorning the accepted theories of slow and laborious attack—worked forward their batteries in a manner which almost savored of bravado, and which, as in the strife of line against column of later days, startled their machine-trained opponents. No aid

came to the besieged from their allies in the vicinity. The New England troops had made several forays on the neighbouring settlements, burnt houses, barns and boats, and established for themselves a wholesome fear in the minds of all French partizans, red and white. Indeed this merciless destruction of the property of the unfortunate settlers and fishermen appears to have been carried to a totally unwarranted degree ; on one occasion (May 10th) the practice brought a loss to the besiegers which they could ill spare. A party of twenty-five men, while busily employed plundering some dwellings, was attacked by a force of French and Indians, and all but three were killed or taken prisoners. The fleet from France did not appear ; while Warren's squadron was, on the 10th and 12th of June, augmented by the arrival of four of the King's ships—the *Chester*, *Canterbury*, *Sunderland*, and *Lark*—with a combined armament of 210 guns.

By a strange weakness on the part of the officers in command of the beleagured garrison, the only measure which could have brought them relief from their environment was not tried. This was a sortie in force against Pepperrell's raw and undisciplined troops. It is true that one had been attempted when the siege was barely a week old ; but it had been a weak and irresolute effort, more of a reconnaissance than anything else. A vigorous attack in force, if well supported, would have been almost certain of success ; but the French officers mistrusted their men, and would do nothing to bring them into contact with the enemy—an error of judgment fatal to their cause.

The Marquis de la Maison Forte, the officer who had commanded the *Vigilant* when under French colours, now a prisoner, involuntarily did a good turn for his opponents at this period of the siege. Early in June it was reported that some of the New England men who had been taken, were being badly treated by the Louisbourg authorities ; whereupon the French captain was requested by Warren to write to Duchambon, protesting against such treatment, in view of the fact that he and his brother officers had received all possible attention and courtesy from their English captors ; and incidentally reported the loss of his ship the *Vigilant*. This letter was sent into the town by a naval officer named McDonald, under a flag of truce. McDonald, although a fluent French linguist, feigned ignorance of that language, and spoke through an interpreter ; and the comments of the French governor and his officers on the contents of the missive were free and unrestrained. This was the first intimation they had received of the loss of the *Vigilant*,

and it seemed almost a death-knell to their hopes. Subsequent events were in no small degree the outcome of this communication, the despondency unwittingly displayed by the besieged infusing fresh vigour into the British commanders—vigour which quickly bore fruit. It is a singular coincidence that an officer of the same name, fourteen years later, was also by his knowledge of the French language instrumental in aiding the success of Wolfe's army when on its way to scale the cliffs above Quebec, in the early morning of the thirteenth of September, 1759.

Preparations were now made for a general assault on the town by the combined forces. All felt that a crisis was at hand, and the artillery fire on both sides became unusually heavy. On the 11th, Warren sent to Pepperrell final instructions, explaining the signals which would be hoisted on his ships prior to their forcing an entrance to the harbour ; and Pepperrell busied himself to the utmost in the all-important preparatory work. All through the latter days of the siege he had been hampered by his lack of powder, and was now entirely dependent on the fleet for this essential ; on the 13th, he was forced to borrow fifty more barrels. Scaling ladders were taken to the advanced batteries, and other necessary details attended to. The powder reached him on the 14th ; and as that day was the anniversary of the King's accession to the throne, it was celebrated from noon until dusk by an unusually heavy fire from all the batteries. On the 15th, Warren came on shore, inspected the troops, and both he and Pepperrell addressed them in brief but stirring words on their duties in the coming assault ; and the commodore, not forgetting a more substantial and welcome tonic, sent them a hogshead of rum with which to drink his health. Six hundred of the men were sent aboard the ships of the fleet to assist in the expected fight, and the vessels moved towards the town and anchored in an imposing line.

While all were thus on the *qui vive* for action, the end came suddenly. A little after twelve o'clock on that day (15th) the French drums were heard to beat a parley, and a flag of truce came from the fortress to the camp. Captain Sherburn, who commanded the advanced battery, went forward to meet the party and conducted them to headquarters ; they brought a note from Duchambon, proposing a suspension of hostilities until formal articles of capitulation could be submitted. To this the British commanders acceded in the following quaintly-worded note :

"CAMP, *June 15th, 1745, 8½ P M.*

"We have yours of this date, proposing a suspension of hostilities for such a time as shall be necessary for you to determine upon the conditions of delivering up the garrison of Louisbourg, which arrived at a happy juncture to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, as we were together and had just determined on a general attack. We shall comply with your desire until eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and if in the meantime you surrender yourselves prisoners of war, you may depend upon humane and generous treatment.

"We are, your humble servants,

"PETER WARREN,

"WILLIAM PEPPERRELL."

The proposed conditions duly came from the French governor on the following morning, but were unsatisfactory to the British chiefs, who thereupon submitted counter proposals—and exceedingly liberal they were. Duchambon realized this and promptly accepted them, adding his wish that the garrison be allowed to march out with the honours of war. This was conceded, and on the 17th a detachment of Royal Marines took formal possession of the island battery, while Pepperrell, at the head of his army, marched into the town through the west gate to the Parade, where the French troops were drawn up in line to receive them. The scene was one long to be remembered by the participants; and the honest and well-earned joy of the New England men at the success of their efforts was mingled with wonder at the vast strength which still characterized the fortifications, and, doubtless, with self-congratulations on the fact that they had been spared the certain danger and probable defeat of a direct assault on so strong a fortress. The appearance of the garrison may not have specially impressed the victors; continued loss of sleep, irregularity of food and lack of attention to personal appearance must have told heavily on them; but they had fought hard and well, had been singularly loyal to their colours, and were of the same breed as the men who were even then honoring France with their devotion and valour in Flanders. Salutes were fired and guards mounted by the incoming Britons; the French then marched out, and, in accordance with the terms of the capitulation, were with the least possible delay embarked on vessels for conveyance to France. They numbered about two thousand men; and with them went as many more ex-citizens of Louisbourg, and the sailors previously taken in the *Vigilant*. About thirty, however, of the total number remained and were subsequently sent to Quebec.

The losses to both armies during the siege were comparatively light, —that of the British being one hundred and thirty killed or died of disease ; of the French probably less than one hundred. Between seventy and eighty French cannon and mortars and a quantity of stores and ammunition (except powder) became the property of King George.

News of the surrender was sent as quickly as possible to the American provinces and to England ; and colonies and mother-land alike rejoiced in the acquisition. The despatches for Governor Shirley were sent off on the 18th June, by a schooner under Captain Bennet ; but, although supposed to be a fast-sailing vessel, she did not reach Boston until early on the 3rd of July. The news quickly spread and the roaring of cannon and the clanging of bells gave a partial vent to the joy which pervaded the town. In the evening the streets were brilliantly illuminated, while bonfires and fireworks showed that the people were making merry ; events all the more remarkable in view of the general quietness of the townsfolk of the Boston of 1745. Nor was the public offering of thanks to the Almighty omitted ; a day of general thanksgiving was proclaimed throughout Massachusetts, and was heartily observed. Similar expressions of public joy were shown in New York, Philadelphia, and many other towns and villages in the British-American colonies.

The method of rejoicing indulged in on this occasion, (and the simplicity and good nature of a people who would tolerate and sing most distressing doggerel,) may be judged from the following extract from a New York paper of 29th July, 1745 :—

Jamaica, on Long Island, July 20.—The good news of the Surrender of Cape Breton coming to us in the Middle of our Harvest, obliged us to defer the Time of publick Rejoicing till yesterday ; when the Magistrates, Military Officers, and many other Gentlemen, &c, of this county, met at this place, feasted together, and at Night gave a Tub of Punch at a fine Bonfire, drank the Public Health, and especially of the valiant Commander immediately concern'd in this great Action, and joined in chorus to the following song :—

Let all true Subjects now rejoice,
The sev'nteenth Day of June,
On Monday Morning in a Trice
We sung the French a Tune.
A glorious Peace we shall have soon
For we have conquer'd Cape Breton,
With a fa la la.

Brave Warren and Bold Pepperrell,
Stout Wolcot, and the rest
Of British Heroes, with Good Will,
Enter'd the Hornet's Nest.
A glorious Peace, &c.

A Health let's to King George advance
That he may long remain,
To curb the Arrogance of France
And Haughtiness of Spain.
A glorious Peace, &c.

In England, the news was as a gleam of sunshine in a black sky ; for at this time national affairs were at their worst, and the hearts of patriotic Britons were sore. The greater part of the army was on the Continent acting in concert with the Dutch against the French under Marshal Saxe ; and, more by the timidity of their allies than by any lack of valour on the part of the British, the events of the campaign were markedly unfavorable to the Anglo-Dutch force. At Fontenoy, Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend, the excellent generalship of the French commander, and the all-round inefficiency of the Dutch, brought disaster to the allies ; while in Scotland, the Pretender was rapidly gathering around him the many faithful and honest hearts still loyal to the House of Stuart. The capture of Louisbourg, and a continued succession of victories at sea by detached and stray ships over French opponents, alone maintained British prestige, and relieved the almost universal gloom.

A glance at some of the English papers and periodicals of this year shows their warm recognition of the courage and endurance of Pepperrell and his New England men. Comparatively little attention was given by the writers of that day to Warren and his tars, and to their share in the successful consummation of the enterprise, although we know how essential it was ; almost the whole praise was bestowed on the provincial troops and their leader. Rewards and honours were promptly forthcoming, and tokens of public joy were, as in America, immediately shown. Captain Montague, who carried to London the official account of the surrender, received from the Admiralty a present of five hundred guineas ; salutes were fired from the Tower as soon as the intelligence had been received, while at night the city was ablaze with bonfires and illuminations. Warren was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and Pepperrell had the honour of being appointed a Baronet of Great Britain, and was also given the King's commission to raise and command a regiment of the line. To Shirley a similar commission was granted.

Louisbourg was now under British colours, and held by a British-American garrison. Almost immediately after the surrender heavy wet weather set in, and the site of the late besiegers' camp became an uninhabitable swamp. Here was a singular instance of the extraordinary good luck which attended the expedition, for had the rain come earlier, or had the surrender been delayed, it would have been almost impossible for Pepperrell to have maintained his ground. In the best of weather a very large proportion of his men were unfit for duty, and heavy rains would have been absolutely fatal to the continued manning of his works and batteries. And yet the winning of the town brought fresh troubles to the simple and impecunious New England men. By the greater number of these Louisbourg was supposed to be a city of vast wealth, and visions of the glittering booty which would be theirs if successful had doubtless been a strong incentive in their steadfastness. But there was little gold and silver and precious stones in the Cape Breton capital ; and what there was must remain in the hands of its lawful owners. It was galling to the once expectant New Englanders to have to mount guard over the houses of the vanquished foe ; but, alas, such was their duty immediately after the surrender. They broke loose at times, however, from the restraints of discipline. As a contemporary chronicler (quoted by Parkman) puts it : " A great Noys and hubbub a mongst ye Soldiers a bout ye Plunder ; Som Cursing som a Swarein ;" and it is recorded by one of their generals that on a Sunday when Father Moody was holding service there was " excessive stealing in every part of the town." This feeling of lack of sufficient recompense for their services was intensified at a later date when rich harvests of spoil came to the men of the fleet, who had endured little toil in the siege, and had suffered practically no loss. In the attack on Louisbourg, as has often been the case, the glory fell to the share of the army ; the gold and silver to the navy.

The famous French fortress was now transformed into a bustling British garrison town and naval depot. The scarlet uniforms of the landsmen and the blue jackets of the tars dotted the streets ; but hard work was the order of the day and idlers were few. No time was lost in repairing the damage which the walls and fortifications had received during the bombardment, and in fitting up quarters for the new occupants. Although the great struggle was over there was still no lack of incident, and this often of an exciting nature ; but now it was the turn of the ships-of-war and their crews to be the chief participants. French prizes were wanted, and were invited into the harbour by the

very simple ruse of keeping the French flag flying over the town. The bait took well, and within six weeks three large vessels had been taken in this peaceful manner, the cargoes and hulls enriching their captors to the tune of £175,000 stg. A month later came the great catch of the season ; this was the treasure-ship *Notre Dame de la Délivrance*, with a cargo of gold and silver valued at £800,000, which now became British property. This vessel had as a passenger a distinguished Spaniard, Don Antonio D'Ulloa, who has left to posterity a very interesting account of his travels ; considerable space is devoted to the *contretemps* which happened to him at Louisbourg, and a full description of that town is given. So far as is recorded, this gentleman was the first scientist of note to visit the Cape Breton capital ; and seldom, if ever, has one had a heartier welcome. The romantic circumstances which led to his call, the princely amount of treasure which accompanied him, and which he left in the custody of the naval authorities, lent a special charm to his visit. One half of the value of all these seizures went to the Crown, the remainder to the officers and men of the fleet ; the land forces, who had borne the lion's share of the work, not getting a single penny. This was in accordance with precedent ; but in all fairness, precedent should have been waived under such circumstances. It is said that every seaman in the squadron received 850 guineas as his share.

The New England troops naturally expected to leave for home soon after the surrender ; but only seven hundred had this good fortune. The latter were replaced by the Rhode Island contingent, and a reinforcement from Massachusetts. The regular regiments ordered from Gibraltar to garrison the newly-captured fortress were detained by unavoidable circumstances until so late in the season that their transports had to take them to Virginia for the winter ; the provincials were therefore obliged to remain in Louisbourg during that season. They suffered much from illness, and lost from that source alone about eight hundred men, more than six times their total fatalities during the siege. Warren had been appointed governor by the Home authorities, but Pepperrell remained in command of the provincials ; thus a joint control was exercised over the fortunes of the town and its garrison. It was no sinecure ; the duties involved considerable labour, and called for the exercise of great tact and nice discrimination. After the first few weeks the troops had comparatively little to do ; idleness fermented discontent, and there was no little growling among the Massachusetts men about the

alleged insufficiency of their pay ; but Governor Shirley, who arrived in Louisbourg in August, settled this by advancing the rate to forty shillings per month. Martial law had to be maintained throughout the winter, to prevent or remedy excesses arising from the reckless acts of the garrison who, disappointed at not going home, and lacking training and soldierly self-control, were often riotous and well-nigh unmanageable. The combination at the head of affairs could not have been a better one ; Warren, an experienced officer, well accustomed to deal with and command men ; Pepperrell, a man of high character, possessing tact and patience, and whose life was governed by principles of religion and justice. Loyal to God and to the King, he proved himself to be one of Britain's most faithful servants during these two arduous years.

Warren and Pepperrell acted as judges over the court which was held on three days of each week for the trial of offenders. Among the records is one of the case of a Captain Piercy, who, as Parsons tells us, was charged by three complainants with drinking "Long life to the Pretender," which at that time was deemed high treason. Piercy was arraigned before the court, and the charge and affidavits being read in a solemn tone, the question was put, "What is your defence, Sir." "May it please your Honors," said the captain, "the complainants entirely misunderstood me. I drank "Long life to the potatoes !" The captain's defence was deemed satisfactory.

Towards the end of March, 1746, the long expected relief of the garrison took place. Two regiments of the line, the 29th (Fuller's) and 56th (Warburton's), and a detachment of the 30th (Frampton's), comprising in all 1875 men, arrived at Louisbourg ; and the New England troops were in a very short time afterwards permitted to return to their distant homes. A few remained, enlisting for regular service in the new regiments, (the 65th and 66th of the line) which were being formed under the commands of Shirley and Pepperrell. With the new garrison came a considerable number of civilians, presumably as settlers or fishermen. Warren and Pepperrell left for Boston in May, and met with a most enthusiastic reception on their arrival. Commodore Knowles assumed the governorship of Louisbourg, with Col. Warburton, (of the 56th regt.,) as second-in-command. During the summer the garrison was kept on the *qui vive*, expecting attack from the powerful squadron of the Duc D'Anville, which had left Brest on 22nd June, with instructions (amongst others) to dismantle Louisbourg. At the same time the French authorities in Canada sent a force of 1600

men to Baie Verte to be prepared to act in concert with D'Anville in the attack. A strong British fleet,—12 ships of war, manned by about 3550 men,—was gathered at Louisbourg, under command of Vice-Admiral Townshend; and all things looked promising for the renewal of hostilities on a large scale. But Providence or Fate—call it which you will—intervened, and the magnificent French fleet met with a series of disasters unparalleled in modern naval history, and which can only be compared to those which befell the Spanish Armada of 1588. Louisbourg was not even attacked.

When Warren sailed for Boston he left Commodore Knowles in chief command of Louisbourg. Large wooden barracks were erected near the Queen's Gate for the accommodation of the garrison, and the fortifications and armament were kept in a thorough state of efficiency. The winter of 1746–47 was a comparatively quiet one; it may be noted that this year for the first time the coal of the island was used for fuel in the barracks and town. Knowles was unpopular—hated Cape Breton—and did his best to injure her fair fame in the eyes of the Home authorities; possibly his representations had something to do with the subsequent re-transfer of the island to the French king. In April, 1747, that sovereign, undeterred by the fate of D'Anville's ships and men, fitted out another strong fleet particularly to retake Cape Breton, and generally to strike at British power in America. But he was fighting a nation whose rulers made it their paramount business to hold world-wide supremacy at sea; and Admirals Anson and Warren (of Louisbourg fame) intercepted the French fleet, and fought and totally defeated it on the 3rd of May, off Cape Finisterre. The Cape Bretoners breathed freely for another year; and the only thing which seriously troubled them and their new governor—Colonel Hopson—was the petty warfare waged by roving bands of Indians and Frenchmen against the settlers and settlements in the vicinity of Louisbourg. This despicable species of warfare waged by the French during the whole period of these wars was the great thorn in the flesh to all British America. It had little practical effect beyond annoyance, but produced such a degree of irritation that the ultimate entire expulsion of French interests from North America was looked on by all classes as an absolute necessity.

What the sword could not do was accomplished by the pen. In April, 1748, a treaty of peace was arranged at Aix-la-Chapelle between the two Powers, one of the conditions of which was that all conquests which had been made by either nation since the beginning of the war (1744) should be restored. This of course included Cape Breton; and

instructions were sent out during that summer for the evacuation of Louisbourg, and the removal of the stores to Annapolis. The work could not be completed that season, and it was not until the early summer of 1749 that the new French garrison arrived, and the troops of King George took their departure. Of the latter, however, a large portion was disbanded prior to the evacuation, and of course the various recently-appointed civic officials were officials no longer. Their sadness at loss of position was doubtless increased by the fact that living in Louisbourg at that time was marvellously cheap,—cheap to a degree which, a century and a half later, fills us with envy. Beef was two-pence a pound ; a fat ox, four pounds ten (worth in Boston £70 to £80) ; and rum—the real old Jamaica article—was but ninepence a gallon.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the restitution of Cape Breton to France was looked at with the utmost disfavour both in England and the British colonies in America ; and especially galling to national pride was that clause which provided that two English noblemen should be sent to France on the conclusion of the treaty to remain there as hostages until the surrender of Louisbourg should be completed. Even the Pretender Prince, then a defeated and disappointed exile, had enough British pride to say : “If ever I mount the throne of my ancestors, Europe shall see me use my utmost endeavours to force France in her turn to send hostages to England.” The effect of Britain’s brilliant naval victories was more than counterbalanced by the excellent generalship of the famous Marshal Saxe in Flanders, and the disastrous alliance in which Hanoverian policy had entangled British troops. The English ministry of that day was deplorably weak, and French diplomacy scored a brilliant triumph ; Cape Breton, so gallantly won, was the sacrifice offered on the Gailic altar.

With peace came the repayment to the American colonies of the total expenses they had incurred in the expedition against Louisbourg. The division was as follows :

	£	s	d
To Massachusetts Bay	1836	2	7
New Hampshire	1635	13	4
Connecticut	2886	19	1
Rhode Island	632	12	10
James Gibson, (an officer in the Provincial army who had served without pay or allowance)	547	15	0
	<u>£2357</u>	<u>2s</u>	<u>10d</u>

This sum was paid over in hard cash, silver and copper, sent to Boston in H. M. S. *Mermaid*. It proved to be financial salvation to

Massachusetts. That province was in debt to the extent of two million pounds currency ; and as one pound sterling was worth eleven pounds of the old tenor currency, and thirty shillings of the new, the provincial rulers were able to buy in almost the entire debt.

Back to Louisbourg duly came the French in the early summer of 1749. M. Desherbiers was the new governor, and he brought with him the two largest ships in the French navy, and twenty transports carrying the new garrison. Here he found British red-coats still in possession, their shipping not having arrived ; and, anxious no doubt to see the last of them, Desherbiers loaned them his transports, and they embarked for the new settlement on Chebucto Bay. For at the very time that Louisbourg ceased to fly British colours, there was springing to life under that flag a new town on the Nova Scotian coast, destined from its beginning to be the naval and military centre of the whole district. The men of the Louisbourg garrison proved a welcome addition to the population of the infant capital ; many remained there permanently, receiving grants and allotments of land in the same manner as had been given to the settlers who had come from over the sea. With the founding of Halifax a new life and a new spirit entered into the conflict between France and England in Acadia ; for though peace nominally reigned, it was peace reddened by blood, and widely torn by steel. Louisbourg was no longer sole mistress of the peninsula ; she had a sturdy rival, which grew and flourished in spite of cruel opposition. From the very first the Louisbourg authorities strove to crush it out of existence ; within but a few weeks of his landing on Cape Breton shores, we find a letter from the new governor, Desherbiers, stating that he " has engaged Abbé Le Loutre to distribute the usual presents among the savages, and M. Bigot has placed in his hands an additional gift of cloth, blankets, powder and ball, to be given them *in case they harass the English at Halifax*. This missionary is to induce them to do so." A few months later and Desherbier's letters are again in evidence against his good faith ; he, Bigot, and that *bête noir* of Acadian history, Le Loutre, reporting secretly to King Louis that they were inciting the Acadians to resist all inducements to swear allegiance to England, and also that they were continuing the dastardly work of paying the Indians to attack the British settlements. The French king warmly endorsed their actions, and also recommended that they should take steps to aid English deserters from the Halifax garrison. So we see that the incoming Louisbourg authorities went promptly to work in endeavoring

to thwart British interests in Acadia; but in spite of their efforts, the sturdy settlers of the new town held together and flourished.

With the new French garrison had come an old friend to Ile Royale, M. Bigot, again as commissary; here he remained several years before going to the scenes of his greater triumphs in Canada. The paternal and benevolent qualities of King Louis came well to the front in this and succeeding years, for the official correspondence shows that he granted subsistence to all the inhabitants of the town and vicinity, numbering altogether about 3200 souls. Many Acadians came in and took up land; and several German families, who had come out to Halifax, were induced to migrate to Ile Royale. Recruits for the garrison were sent out in considerable numbers; one large party must have endured considerable badinage on their arrival, as for some unexplained reason their nether garments went a-missing—a deficiency which they had to supply from empty sacks. In 1751 Desherbiers retired, and was succeeded by the Count de Raymond, an Anglophobe of the most pronounced type. By a curious irony of fate his secretary was M. Pichon, who subsequently deserted to the British, and published a valuable and interesting book on Cape Breton, now of considerable rarity. Raymond was a capable officer, and spent 100,000 livres in opening a road from Louisbourg to Port Toulouse,—a work for which he was severely censured by the authorities at home. In November of the same year he reported the discovery of coal near La Baie Espagnol, (Sydney), and wished to form a fortified settlement there without delay. He was evidently of an arbitrary temper, was continually quarrelling with the commissary, and in 1753 was recalled at his own request. To succeed him M. d'Ailleboud came out from France in December; but his reign did not exceed twelve months, and M. de Drucour was installed as governor at the end of 1754. During these years few matters worthy of special mention occurred in the town. In Acadia the war—if such it can be called—was being carried on, and items concerning its varied fortunes occupied a large share of the official correspondence. Louisbourg still called loudly for recruits, provisions, arms and stores of all kinds, indicating either a culpable degree of neglect on the part of the Home authorities, or a high degree of efficiency on the part of the English men-of-war cruising on the station, in capturing French supply vessels bound for the port; and, from the correspondence, it would seem that this was the real cause of the dearth.

The peace between the two powers had been to a large extent a nominal one so far as America was concerned; petty acts of hostility—

resulting in the aggregate in the loss of many lives—occurred almost continuously, and the renewal of warlike operations on a large scale was felt by all to be a certainty in the near future. In the spring of 1755 matters came to a crisis, and although war had not been officially declared, both France and England sent large armaments across the Atlantic. Certain vessels from each fleet came across each other,—a fight followed, and two of the French ships were, early in June, captured and taken into Halifax. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, and hostilities on a large and lively scale followed in quick succession. Part of the French flotilla was for Louisbourg, and the garrison thereby received a large addition to its strength. On the 21st the residents of the town were startled by the appearance of the whole British squadron which drew up opposite the entrance in fighting array, and for the next ten days cruised along the Cape Breton coast, preventing all communication between Louisbourg and the outside world. On the 1st of July, they reappeared before the town, anchored in order of battle, and apparently made preparations for an assault; but in the night vanished as suddenly as they had come. That summer was a most eventful one in Nova Scotian history; Fort Beausejour was taken, and the Acadians, still as a body opposing English rule, were expelled from the country; but Louisbourg remained undisturbed. In September, the King, evidently uneasy as to the security of the town, sent out another frigate to aid in its defence; and at the same time assured the governor “That whatever occurs in Canada, Louisbourg requires the greatest attention, and he is disposed to bestow such upon it.” Thus, doubly fortified by royal deed and word, the officials waited with confidence fresh developments.

The almost unnecessary official declarations of war were made early in the following summer; by England on the 18th of May, by France on the 9th of June. Long before this the rival fleets had been making ready, and Louisbourg was not forgotten by either party; and in the formal instructions given in April to Admiral John Byng—afterwards the scapegoat for the sins of a weak ministry—that unfortunate officer was directed to assist in strengthening the force which was to operate on the Cape Breton coast. But the French were well prepared, and although twice attacked by a strong squadron under Commodore Holmes, they, although defeated, were enabled to avoid any serious disaster; one ship of war and one storeship being their only loss. These vessels—carrying about six hundred and fifty men, and a large quantity of stores—were taken into Halifax.

The control of British interests in America was now vested in the Earl of Loudon, an officer whose conduct of the war has met with criticism mainly of an unfavourable nature. By some writers he has been condemned in the most unsparing terms ; from others he has received a certain measure of defence. A labored argument of forty-five printed pages was published in his behalf early in 1758, in which the writer—to his own satisfaction in any case—acquitted the noble earl of all imputed errors in judgment and tardiness in action. One thing is clear, and that is that his efforts were unquestioned failures. He was a man of ordinary parts ; while that campaign to have been a success, called for a leader brilliant in conception, quick in action, and abounding in tact. In these qualities Lord Loudon was singularly deficient.

In the fall of 1756 he proposed to the ministry a plan of campaign for the following summer, which had for its first and main object, the reduction of Louisbourg. This met with their concurrence ; but their part of the programme, the despatch of a large fleet and a powerful military force to co-operate with Loudon, was performed in so dilatory a manner, that it was not until the fifth of May that the fleet left England. It reached Halifax (the pre-arranged rendezvous) early in July, where its commander, Vice-Admiral Holbourne, found Loudon with about six thousand troops just arrived from New York. The combined forces now numbered at least eleven thousand men, and twenty-two ships-of-war were in the harbour ready to convey them to immediate attack on the Cape Breton capital. But the worthy commander-in-chief was seized with sudden fear that his men were insufficiently drilled, and that the commissariat stores required replenishing ; a brilliant series of sham fights and other manœuvres was indulged in, and much time and care devoted to planting large quantities of vegetables to grace the mess-tables. This work occupied all hands fully until the 1st of August, when it was thought to be time to go on with the main object of their expedition ; the troops were leisurely embarked, and all was ready, when on the 4th, a schooner arrived from Newfoundland with news that the enemy had got together in Louisbourg harbour a fleet of twenty-three large vessels, and that the fortress was garrisoned by a force of not less than seven thousand men. To the Earl of Loudon this was most alarming intelligence. His most active brigadier, Lord Charles Hay, had been placed under arrest a few days before for having stated that the commander-in-chief's policy had resulted in "keeping the soldiers' courage at bay, and "expending the nation's wealth in making sham-fights and planting

"cabbages"; and his lordship's right-hand man now was Major-General James Abercromby—notorious, if not immortal, for the way in which he conducted the siege of Ticonderoga, and the campaign of 1758. A council-of-war was held, and it was decided to give up the enterprise. Loudon left some of the troops to garrison Halifax, sent off detachments to Forts Cumberland and Annapolis, and returned to New York with the remainder. But the attempt was not wholly abandoned. Admiral Holbourne made a reconnaissance in force towards Louisbourg; and on his return to Halifax, finding that a reinforcement of four ships-of-the-line had just arrived, determined to cruise off the Cape Breton coast, and try to tempt the French admiral to come out and risk an engagement. He returned, but the Frenchman declined the invitation, and remained snugly sheltered in the harbour; and on the night of the 24th of September a furious gale burst on the British fleet, wrecked one ship, dismasted and injured others, and scattered the rest of the squadron. Some vessels sailed direct to England, others to Halifax.

Throughout all these threats of attack and ponderous demonstrations against their peace, the authorities and residents of Louisbourg appear to have been calm, and strong in the belief of their ability to successfully cope with their foes. Despatches sent to Montcalm early in February informed him that the battalions which comprised the garrison were fully up to strength and in excellent condition. By the end of June the squadrons which had been sent out from France had arrived in the harbour, and formed in all a magnificent fleet of eighteen ships-of-the-line, and six frigates, carrying fourteen hundred and seventy-two guns; which, as an official writer states, "puts us at ease respecting all the attacks the English would make in this quarter," adding rather naively, "you cannot believe how it makes us settle affairs "of state; everybody already wants Acadia to belong to us." Without doubt, everything was satisfactory in this way; but the very strength of the defence in men accentuated its weakness in supplies. For in spite of all this brave showing there was a most lamentable dearth of provisions, and at times the garrison and residents appear to have been on the verge of starvation. In May the governor writes: "The greatest scarcity exists throughout the colony." In October, "The colony is in a sad condition owing to the want of "food." And in December, with doleful thoughts, no doubt, as to prospects for good cheer at Christmas and New Year's, "That there is "hardly a servant of the meanest gentleman of the kingdom of France

"that is not better off than are the officers of the Louisbourg garrison." There is a measure of pathos in such statements that cannot but command our respect and sympathy. The governor's allies and friends added to his perplexities in this matter, they being evidently blessed with very healthy appetites, as in a despatch acknowledging the arrival of provisions he adds that the Acadians and Indians consumed vast quantities.

Montcalm, who had by this time acquired a knowledge of the dogged persistency of the English in their warfare, did not overlook the probability of another attack on Cape Breton. In September he writes : "We have apprehensions for Louisbourg ; it would require a principal man of more strength than those who are there." On the 4th of November of this year, he reports to the Home authorities that the chief engineer officer (de Pontleroy) had left Louisbourg on the 27th of September, and "he has reassured us for this year against all attacks on Ile Royale on the part of the English (by reason of the storm). . . . But adds : "Will not the English winter their troops at Halifax and New England, in order to be beforehand with us next year if they can ?"

The French commander's apprehensions were well founded. England had been in a ferment of political excitement, which ceased only on the re-appointment to power of the Great Commoner, William Pitt, who inaugurated an administration, which—in the eloquent words of Lord Mahon—was "the greatest and most glorious, perhaps, which England had ever yet known—an administration not always, indeed, free from haste or error in its schemes, and, no doubt, owing their success in part to the favour of Fortune, and to the genius of generals ; but still . . . pre-eminently strong at home, and victorious abroad." The new minister was stung by the failure of Loudon's expedition, and publicly censured him in the House of Commons. To retrieve the failure was his first step in dealing with the affairs of the war in America. Preparations for an expedition on a large scale were begun in the autumn, and early in February, 1758, everything was ready for a start. Admiral Boscawen held the chief naval command, and the combined force was a remarkably strong one, comprising forty-one ships-of-war, with an army of over eleven thousand men. Major-General Jeffery Amherst was in command, with three brigadiers, Lawrence, Whitmore and Wolfe ; but the genius of the latter dominated the whole enterprise. On the part of the French ample preparation had been made for the coming storm, of which they had been kept fully advised through a spy

in London. Twenty-two ships of the line (as well as frigates) were destined for Louisbourg, to aid in its defence ; but only twelve were able to cross the Atlantic ; for, concurrently with the main British expedition under Boscawen, a squadron had been detached to watch the Mediterranean, and thrust back any French vessels heading for America. The patrol was a most effective one, and no succour reached Cape Breton or Canada from this quarter. The others made Louisbourg harbour in safety ; six of them remained there and shared the fortunes of the siege, and the remainder got off to Quebec in good time. On the vessels which remained were about three thousand sailors available for defence ; and as the garrison of regular troops mustered at least an equal number (besides a strong body of militia and Indians) the French commandant might well be confident of maintaining a successful resistance, and especially as the recently-arrived ships had brought an ample supply of provisions and stores.

May came and was gone, and there was still no sign of Boscawen and his fleet ; but this tranquillity vanished almost with the month, for on the second of June the distant horizon was white with the sails of the stately squadron and of the wide-spreading fleet of transports. In all there were one hundred and fifty-seven vessels ; seldom if ever before had so powerful a flotilla left British shores. Gabarus Bay was the *rendezvous*, and from it the rocky coast was reconnoitred without delay. As at Quebec, one of the strongest features of the defence was the forbidding and almost inaccessible shore for many miles east of the fortress ; and Drucour had spared neither vigilance nor men in guarding the few spots at which a landing was possible. Two-thirds of his whole military force was detached on this duty ; batteries were erected, trenches dug, breastworks thrown up, and all things made ready for a reception of appalling warmth to be given their scarlet-coated visitors ; the lesson of Duchambon's first great blunder, thirteen years before, had not been lost on his successor.

But the French commandant had as his opponent the most brilliant soldier of the period, one whom nothing could daunt. For several days the sea was too rough to attempt a landing, and it was not until the morning of the 8th that the effort could be made. Three divisions of boats, under the respective brigadiers, Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe, threatened the shore ; but, as usual, the real attack was controlled by the latter. His division was the left of the three, and was made up of grenadiers, light infantry, and New England Rangers,

supported by Fraser's Highlanders. They pulled hard for the shore, but were greeted with such a storm of shot and shell that they recoiled ; however, three boats on the right, manned by light infantry-men, dashed towards the beach, and made good their landing ; clinging to the rocks they defended themselves as well as was possible, until their comrades came up, and with fire and steel made a fatal gap in the French line of defence. It is said that during all the time that the men were lying low in the boats under the heavy fire of the French batteries, Wolfe alone disdained all cover, and stood upright, directing the actions of the rowers along the line,—a central figure to which all looked, and from which all drew confidence and patient valour. Here, as throughout the whole siege, he was the soul and energy of the undertaking.

The landing was now an assured fact, and had been made at a surprisingly small loss of life, six officers and forty-four men having been killed or drowned, and three officers and fifty-five men wounded. The men in the other divisions of the attacking army were quickly on shore, and the French were hurriedly driven back into the town, after losing about seventy-five men ; all their cannon, (thirty-three pieces) stores, and tools, fell into the hands of the British. Once on shore the encampment was quickly formed ; but the continued heavy weather made the landing of the artillery and ammunition a very slow affair.

Limited space forbids my giving much detail of this, the second and last siege of Louisbourg. Much has been written about it, and its events are familiar to every student of our history ; but it may be noted that the most complete and accurate journal yet published of the siege is that which appeared in one of the earlier volumes of this Society's "Collections." A brief summary can alone be attempted here.

No time was lost in getting to work. On the 12th, Wolfe, with a detachment of twelve hundred men, marched around the harbour and took possession of Lighthouse Point, securing his communications with the main body by establishing small fortified posts on the circuit. On the 17th, Amherst fixed on the point from which to begin his trenches for the main attack on the fortress, and work was forthwith begun. On the following day Wolfe, having by this time got up some heavy guns near the Lighthouse, opened fire first on the shipping, then on the Island Battery ; by the 25th the latter work was destroyed, and its fire ceased. This left the harbour open to the British war-ships ; but the French commander promptly met this emergency by sinking six of his ships across the narrowest part of the channel. From this time on the

story of the seige is one of slow but steady growth of the besiegers' works and batteries, and a corresponding increase of murderous fire. But the defenders were by no means idle. Frequent sallies were made, which kept the British troops on the *qui vive* of expectancy ; the remaining ships in the harbour, so placed as to cover the weakest spots in the fortress, kept up a persistent fire, one little frigate of thirty-six guns, *L'Arethuse*, being especially ably handled, and galling and worrying the Britons with her well-directed cannonade. She was the first of the "Saucy Arethusa" family, and as well as her successors in the British service she deserves a generous share of the reputation which belongs to that name in naval annals. The fire from the fortress was heavy and well-judged, and allowed the enemy's approaches and works to be made only under cover of darkness, or the equally dense Cape Breton fog. Around the camp lurked small parties of Indians, who carried off stragglers, fired pot-shots at out-lying sentries, and generally did what damage they could. To add to the troubles of the besieging army, small-pox broke out among the artificers and carpenters, and nearly one hundred men of that most useful body fell victims to the scourge within a few days.

But from the first, unless a miracle had taken place, the fall of Louisbourg was almost a certainty. He was a plucky fellow, Monsieur le Chevalier de Drucour, and omitted nothing that would aid his cause, and hinder that of his opponents ; but he was pitted against a man of singular pertinacity and resoluteness of purpose, and one who had a strong and confident army under his control. The siege of Louisbourg brought Amherst at one bound into the front rank of the general officers of his day, second only to his brigadier, Wolfe. Only five French ships remained in the harbour, and on the evening of the 21st three of these were destroyed by fire ; four days later the remaining two were cut out by a detachment of six hundred seamen sent in from the blockading fleet. This disaster, combined with the burning of the main barracks, and the ruinous state of the ramparts and town, brought matters to a climax, and on the following day the French governor sent in proposals for a capitulation, claiming the honours-of-war,—as had been allowed, two years previously, by Marshal Richelieu to an English garrison on a somewhat similar occasion. After so gallant a defence, it is difficult to understand why Amherst should have refused this ; but refuse it he did, and insisted that the garrison must surrender solely and absolutely as prisoners-of-war. This, at first indignantly refused by Drucour, was subsequently accepted ; and on the 27th of July a British detachment

took possession of the West Gate, and the garrison delivered up their arms and colours. Stores were duly transferred, and the prisoners were sent to England on the 14th of the following month. The British loss in killed and wounded during the siege was five hundred and twenty-four officers and men, one hundred and seventy-two having been killed and three hundred and fifty-two wounded. Of the French army, about three hundred and thirty were killed and wounded ; the total number included in the capitulation was nine thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, of which about four thousand were inhabitants of the town. The ordnance and stores surrendered included two hundred and sixteen cannon, eighteen mortars, about twelve thousand rounds of shot and shell, and large quantities of ammunition for small-arms. The settlers, as a whole, appear to have been undisturbed in their lands and possessions, but the official correspondence mentions that twenty German families (Protestant) were removed to Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, then as now the leading German settlement in the province. During the progress of the siege most of the deserters to the British were Germans, who had doubtless been forced into the French service.

The victory was a most important one, and was the first of the closing acts of the tragedy of the Seven Years War. It practically annihilated a French army and a French fleet ; it wholly freed the Atlantic seaboard from the presence of the enemy ; and it enabled the British government to devote its energies to the conquest of *la Nouvelle France*. The bloody defeat of Abercomby at Ticonderoga on the 8th of July only accentuated the importance of the capture of Louisbourg ; despite such a check, success followed so close to Amherst and Wolfe that in little over a year British colours were flying over the ramparts of Quebec, and Canada was practically lost to France. The capture of Louisbourg in 1745 was a brilliant incident ; in 1753 it was a decisive event.

The official despatch announcing the victory reached England on the 18th of August, and evoked unbounded enthusiasm and demonstrations of joy. Captains Amherst and Edgecumbe, who brought the news, each received £500 from the king ; a general thanksgiving service was held in every church in England ; congratulatory addresses to His Majesty poured in from almost every city and town in the kingdom ; and on the 7th of September, the French colours given up after the capitulation were formally presented to the king, and then with great ceremony escorted to St. Paul's Cathedral, and deposited there for the nation. Boscawen and Amherst received the high honour of the official thanks of the Parliament of Great Britain, while Wolfe was promoted to the rank of

major-general, and his brilliant and heroic services throughout the siege resulted in his appointment to the chief command of the great expedition which immediately followed. Equally hearty was the joy in British America on receipt of the news. New York, Boston and Philadelphia vied with each other in demonstrations of pleasure, although, as Parkman tells us, in Boston "certain jealous souls protested against "celebrating a victory won by British regulars, and not by New England "men." But miserable curs such as these were strongly in the minority, and their whinings were little heeded. Wherever Britons and loyal subjects lived, and in every camp and garrison in British America, there was loud and heartfelt rejoicing.

The war over, Wolfe was the first to leave for new fields of activity ; with two regiments he sailed for Gaspe on the 28th of July. On the following day other battalions left for Halifax and more distant points, leaving a permanent garrison in Louisbourg of four regiments of the line,—the 22nd, 28th, 40th, and 45th,—all under command of Brigadier Whitmore. The fortress had held out too long to permit of the attack on Quebec in that season, but during the following winter and spring all needful preparations were made towards this crowning event. Louisbourg was the *rendezvous*, and on the 18th of May 1759, a superb fleet—representative of the best of England's naval and military services—entered the harbour. Here they remained over a fortnight, awaiting the arrival of the contingent from the New England colonies. During this time a special corps was formed from the garrison which had occupied the fortress during the preceding winter ; this corps was made up of the grenadier companies of the 22nd, 40th and 45th regiments, and was called "The Louisbourg Grenadiers." On the 1st of June, the imposing flotilla sailed for the scenes of its coming triumphs.

The garrison left in Louisbourg must have chafed bitterly under the inaction to which they were condemned while their late comrades were winning fame and glory in the west ; but there was no redress. Another winter was spent in the historic town, the last in its history as a fortress. Quebec had fallen, and Halifax had been established as the naval centre of Nova Scotia, and the new acquisitions of territory to the north and west ; so the demolition of the fortress of Louisbourg was decided on, and in the following March a company of Royal Sappers and Miners was despatched from Portsmouth to blow up the fortifications. Two of the infantry regiments in the garrison, the 22nd and 40th, were sent to join Amherst's army before Montreal ; the remaining one, the 45th, furnished daily working parties to assist the miners in their work

of destruction. The fortifications were utterly demolished, and the huge ditch filled with the debris ; while everything of use and value,—stores, guns, ammunition and the like,—were taken to Halifax. The work was slow but sure, and the result was thus curtly announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1760 : “ On October 17 the “ last blast was given to the compleat demolition of the fortifications of “ Louisbourg.”

But the dismantling of the fortifications did not necessitate the immediate abandonment of the place as a military station. Lieut.-Col. Tulleskin of the 45th regiment, remained in command of a garrison of three hundred men, and the town—such as it was—continued to hold chief honours in the island. A barracks, hospital and a number of private buildings had been allowed to remain, and in September, 1762, the garrison participated in the successful expedition against St. Johns, Newfoundland, which had been captured by the French in the previous June ; on the conclusion of hostilities the detachment returned to its former quarters in the ruined fortress. Even this small reminder of its former greatness as a garrison town soon disappeared. In 1768 the troops—at that time of the 59th regiment, under Major Milward—were ordered to Halifax *en route* for Boston, where the turbulence which preceded the rebellion was becoming offensive to the authorities. This left only twenty-six houses occupied in the town ; and, indeed, there were not many more fit for residential purposes. Of the one hundred and forty-two buildings which remained standing, sixty-nine were unfit for habitation, and sixty required repairs, leaving only thirteen in thoroughly good condition. It was still the capital of Cape Breton, but its power and influence had sunk to almost the lowest possible point ; a marked instance of this retention of capital honours hand-in-hand with extreme poverty in population and influence is mentioned in Brown's history of the island, in that one resident, named Cottnam, gradually acquired in his own person a monopoly of almost all the official positions of authority and trust. By December, 1775, he had attained the height of dizzy fame in representing, at one and the same time, the Navy, the Army, and the Law ; he was Naval Officer and Collector of Excise, Major-Commandant of Militia, Custodian of Fortifications and Public Buildings, Judge of Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the Peace, Stipendiary Magistrate, Commissioner for Assessing Taxes for Support of Militia, and Deputy to grant Passports. But even this shred of honour as capital of the island was taken away in 1784, when Cape Breton was separated politically from Nova Scotia, and formed into a new province. A

lieutenant-governor was appointed in the person of Major Desbarres, who had served with distinction in the second siege of Louisbourg; he discarded that ruined and almost deserted town, and chose for his capital a site at the head of the south arm of the Spanish river, calling the new village Sydney, in honour of the then Secretary of State. This was the finishing blow to the fortunes of Louisbourg, and for the century and more which have since passed, the historic old place has slumbered out her existence as a petty fishing village. Of late, signs of a new life have been apparent; and possibly the twentieth century may see the harbour and its rugged shores as busy and alive with men and ships as they were in the eighteenth, but differently employed. Commerce, not war, will be the motive power; yet whatever changes may take place, the long past glories of the town can never be blotted out. The thoughts of soldier and student will alike go back to the days when the sharp crack of musketry and the heavy thunder of cannon sounded day after day over these waters and hills; when these shores were trodden by men whose names are among the most honoured in British naval and military annals; and when on this now shattered and useless fortress hinged the fate of half a continent.

Apart from the providential intervention which seems to have been specially exerted on behalf of the expedition and siege of 1745, and against the great French armament of the following year, the result of both sieges must be accounted for by the efficiency and valour of the British navy, and the thorough mastery it had over the sea-roads of north-eastern America. In this I imply no disparagement to the armies who fought Britain's battles in *Ile Royale*, both from Old England and from her American colonies; their courage was of the highest type, and under leaders such as Pepperrell and Vaughan in '45, and Wolfe and Amherst in '58, they were worthy types of that matchless infantry, whose prowess and steadfastness have been immortalized by Napier. But the French defenders showed equal bravery and equal powers of endurance; while the energies of their naval forces seemed paralyzed by the vigour and dashing courage of the seamen who fought under St. George's Cross. As was the case half a century later, the Britons blockaded their opponents in port, or went in and fought them ship by ship, or cruised about the coast seeking their adversaries. The records of naval history, our patriotism, and our pride of race unite in giving force to the claim that the best men won; and their winning did much towards giving us the Canada of to-day.

